



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

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'Distantia Jungit':
Scots Patronage of the Visual Arts in France,
*c.*1445 – *c.*1545

Volume 1

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'Distantia Jungit'¹

¹ 'Unites things distant,' or 'joins things that were apart'. Bérault Stuart d'Aubigny's motto referring to his role as the 'buckle' between the kingdom of Scotland and the kingdom of France. Giovio, 1559, 92.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Signature:.....

Date:.....

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines interest in the visual arts by patrons of Scottish descent, active in France, c.1445 to c.1545: the Monypenny family, Bérault and Robert Stuart d'Aubigny, and John Stuart, Duke of Albany. During this period the *Auld Alliance* played a key role in relations between Scotland and France, and large numbers of Scots travelled to France as mercenaries, scholars, and diplomats. Many relocated to France permanently and were granted letters of naturalisation.

This thesis argues that an examination of the visual arts commissioned by this group of patrons enhances our understanding of the integration of Scots into French society at this time. It explores how the visual arts reflected, and were used to advance their careers, social standing, and spheres of influence, broaching issues of identity and power relations. The investigation explores how artistic patronage was a vital method by which a patron could express his social identity and aspirations. Examining patronage enables the historian to acquire a greater understanding of the patron's priorities and ambitions, and allows the art historian to situate works of art in a historical framework, thus gaining a clearer understanding of their meanings.

This research is important as it covers a large corpus of works that, although linked by the unusual circumstances of their patrons, have not previously been studied together. As the artistic patronage of Scots in France during this period has hitherto not been examined, it cannot be assumed that the same priorities and influences that shaped French patrons during this period also shaped the patronage examined in this study. This thesis demonstrates that in many instances the Scottish heritage of these patrons was instrumental in shaping their demands, and thus the finished work of art.

The study of the patronage of the visual arts in France has become a vibrant area of research. Yet the patronage of non-native communities, such as Scots in France, remains largely unstudied. This thesis shows that there is a rich diversity of visual material, both extant and documented, which may be associated with these Scots. Furthermore, it demonstrates how examining a patrons career may provide interesting insights into their works of art; and it shows how discovering biographical details about the patrons permits a more complete reconstruction of the circumstances in which works of art were made, displayed, and understood.

Whilst comparatively little visual material survives in Scotland from this period, an examination of the visual arts commissioned by Scots in France tells us a great deal about Scots' relationships to the arts at this time, and their use of works of art as a means of 'self fashioning'. This research has uncovered exciting new information regarding all patrons investigated.

Furthermore, it has identified Bremond Domat, a previously unrecognised artist working for John Stuart, Duke of Albany, to whom a small, but important, body of work may unambiguously be attributed.

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CHAPTER 3: JOHN STUART, DUKE OF ALBANY, REGENT OF SCOTLAND

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INTRODUCTION

*'In the matter of ancient records of all sorts, Scotland may be compared to a traveller who has fallen among thieves so often that little of his luggage is left. All the more reason then to make the most of what has survived the perils of the journey'*¹

Joseph Storer Clouston made this claim to highlight one of the main difficulties facing historians of late-medieval Scotland: the lack of surviving documentation. In this particular case Clouston wished to stress the importance of French heraldic documents, such as the *Armorial de Berry*, which provides important historical material that is lacking in surviving Scottish sources.² The same holds true for the artistic patronage of late-medieval Scots. While both the visual material and surrounding documentation are scarce in Scotland itself, an idea of Scots' patronage of the visual arts may be formed by researching Scots who travelled to the Continent. This thesis examines the patronage of the visual arts by figures of Scottish descent active in France, c.1445 to c.1545. It focusses on the Monypenny family, Bérault and Robert Stuart d'Aubigny, and John Stuart, Duke of Albany. These three case-studies provide an overview of the patronage of successful, wealthy, and influential Scots in France at this time, raising many questions surrounding the notions of power, self-promotion, and social identity.

The three families that form the basis of this thesis are not unknown to historians of late-medieval Scotland and France. Yet their visual patronage has hitherto generally been mentioned only in passing, or in the broader context of French art and architecture during this period. No study has sought to examine the visual arts commissioned by these three families in the context of their particular situation: as figures of Scottish descent active in France in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries.

While Scottish patronage of the visual arts in France has been studied comparatively little, I have nevertheless been able to draw on a great deal of scholarly material concerning the history of the *Auld Alliance*. Nineteenth-century authors such as Francisque Michel and Forbes-Leith provide a wealth of material on Scottish mercenaries, scholars, and diplomats in France during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³ Their interpretations of this material is, however, at times misleading, the former in particular seeing Scottish connections without good evidence, and often omitting

1 Clouston, 1983, 84.

2 Gilles le Bouvier, *Armorial de Berry*, Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 4985, 1450-55.

3 Michel, 1862, 2 vols; Forbes-Leith, 1882, 2vols.

references to his sources. More recent very useful studies on the *Auld Alliance* have been undertaken by Norman MacDougall and Elizabeth Bonner among others; and studies addressing Scots mercenaries in France, and their reception, may be found in the work of Bernard Chevalier, Philippe Contamine, and Brian Ditcham.⁴

The three families of Scottish descent examined in this thesis have received varying levels of scholarly attention, but all, to a large degree, have escaped the notice of art or cultural historians. Furthermore, those visual arts connected to these patrons that have been investigated in an art historical context have generally been examined purely in the context of French patronage of this period. So while a work like the Monypenny Breviary has been mentioned in the context of illumination in Bourges, relatively little attention has been paid to the fact that it was commissioned not by a Frenchman, but by a figure of Scottish descent. Albert Van der Put's seminal article on the Monypenny Breviary, was published in *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* in 1922. The Breviary was mentioned by Nicole Reynaud in 1993 in the catalogue *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520*, and Jean-Yves Ribault has published a number of studies on the artists involved in this work.⁵ Yet none have examined the Breviary in the wider context of Scots' patronage in France, and in particular the region of Berry, nor in the broader context of the Monypenny's wider cultural activities in France.

The careers of Bérault and Robert Stuart d'Aubigny were examined in Andrew Stuart's *Genealogical History of the Stewarts, in 1798*.⁶ In 1891 Lady Elizabeth Cust wrote her well-researched work, *Some Accounts of the Stuarts of Aubigny in France, 1422-1672*.⁷ Since then, historical research on the Stuart d'Aubigny family has been undertaken by the Marquis de Vogüé, a member of the family who currently owns the Stuart's château at la Verrerie.⁸ Recently, Philippe Contamine produced an entry for Bérault Stuart in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, while Elizabeth Bonner produced a detailed account of Robert Stuart for the same publication.⁹ In terms of the Stuart d'Aubignys' cultural activities, Bernard Toulhier published a booklet on the heritage of Aubigny-sur-Nère, which deals to some extent with the Stuart d'Aubigny patronage, yet

4 MacDougall, 2001; Bonner, 1997, 1085-1115, 1999, 5-30; Chevalier, 1999, 47-57; Contamine, 1976, 102-21, 1992, 16-30, 1999, 59-76; Ditcham, 1979, 1989.

5 Put, 1922, 72-114; Reynaud, 1993, 340-342. Van der Put's article remains the most useful work on this manuscript. The sale catalogues of 1989 and 2000, written by Dr de Hamel for Sotheby's, both follow van der Put's findings very closely: *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Celebrated Library of The Late Major J.R. Abbey. The Eleventh and Final Part* (London: Sotheby's: Monday 19 June, 1989); *Three Supremely Important Illuminated Manuscripts from a Distinguished Private Collection* (London: Sotheby's: Thursday 6 July 2000). Ribault, 1994, 285-301, 2002, 35-42.

6 Stuart, 1798.

7 Cust, 1891.

8 Vogüé, 1971, 1-60.

9 Contamine, 2004; Bonner, 2004.

goes into little scholarly detail.¹⁰ Jean-Yves Ribault published an article examining the various building campaigns of the château at la Verrerie, which provides a well-researched introduction to the history of this building, and only last year Elizabeth Bonner published a fascinating primary source currently held in the la Verrerie private archives: a mid-sixteenth century inventory of the Stuart d'Aubignys' properties.¹¹ With regards to the Stuart d'Aubignys' patronage of manuscripts, Philippe Contamine and Elie de Comminges have both examined the treatise on war written by Bérault Stuart, and mentioned the illuminated Giles de Rome manuscript he commissioned.¹² Yet there has been no study thus far that brings together all of the Stuart d'Aubigny patronage and examines it in the light of their careers, social standing, and spheres of influence.

For John Stuart, Duke of Albany, and his connections to the de la Tour family, Etienne Baluze's *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne*, published in 1708, remains crucial.¹³ Marie Stuart's work of 1940, *The Scot who was a Frenchman*, also remains a key biography of the duke.¹⁴ Although again, as with other older historical texts, there is a troubling lack of references. A more scholarly account of his life is given by Elisabeth Bonner in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and an article by Dana Bentley-Cranch and Rosalind K. Marshall looks at Albany's political role in sixteenth-century France.¹⁵ In the case of Albany, it is particularly surprising that so little work has addressed his artistic patronage given his involvement in some of the most important historical events of early-sixteenth century Scotland and France. It is an even greater surprise given both the scope, and the quality of the visual material, that may be attributed to his patronage.

What then is the value of approaching works of art through their patrons, rather than through the artists? In this thesis I will bring together a large corpus of works that have never been studied together before, but which are all linked by the circumstances of their patrons. This examination will allow the objects to be situated more accurately within a historical framework. Thus, such a study allows works to be more closely connected with the reasons surrounding their production, and with their historical meaning. Examining the visual arts in this way broaches issues of identity, power relations, and influence, artistic patronage being a key method for a patron to express his, and his families, social identity and aspirations. These works of art are therefore a product of at least two forces: the wants and needs of the patron, and the capacity of the artist to meet those

10 Toullet, 1994.

11 Ribault, 1971, 2-12; Bonner, 2011.

12 Contamine, 1976, 102-21, 1999, 59-76; Comminges, 1976.

13 Baluze, 1708, 2 vols.

14 Stuart, 1940.

15 Bonner, 2004; Bentley Cranch & Marshall, 2003, 293-313.

needs.¹⁶ Each role is of great importance to the finished product. Visual details such as heraldry, insignia, mottos, and iconography specific to the patron, necessarily originate from the detailed instructions provided by that patron. Beyond this, the artist was of course expected to use his imagination and artistic judgement. Yet the degree to which a patron dictated the overall effect of a finished work tells us a great deal about the reasons for its production. In the cases examined in this thesis, the visual details which were clearly dictated by the patron tell us a great deal about his priorities, and about his social identity and ambitions. As the artistic patronage of these Scots in France has not been examined before, we may not assume that the same priorities and influences that shaped French patrons during this period also shaped the patronage examined in this study.¹⁷ It is important therefore that this study is embarked on without preconceptions. What were the reasons behind this patronage? Were these patrons affected and influenced by the same forces as their French peers? Did their Scottish heritage have any bearing on the artistic decisions they made? It is also important to consider whether the choice of artist, medium, or style of art was influenced by their fellow Scots in France, or whether their primary influences came from the French court or their French peers.

My inquiry therefore focusses on the people who purchased, owned, and displayed objects, artworks or buildings, as opposed to those who actually produced them. The study of the patronage of the visual arts in France has gained considerable ground in recent years as a vibrant area of research. Studying the person, or persons, who commissioned works of art has enabled art historians to put more emphasis on the original context in which the work was made and displayed. The degree to which a patron participated in the actual creative process, and may therefore be seen as an active collaborator, has more recently been considered a legitimate line of scholarly enquiry. Art historians have long recognised the importance of great French patrons, such as Jean, duc de Berry and of the Bourges merchant and financier, Jacques Coeur, in shaping ideas regarding taste and connoisseurship in fifteenth century France.¹⁸ More recently, the formative role that patrons played in the production of the visual arts in France has been emphasised in such exhibitions as *L'art des frères d'Amboise* held in 2007, which sought to illustrate the patronage of the prestigious Amboise family.¹⁹ Dana Bentley-Cranch has provided a number of illuminating studies regarding

¹⁶ Lorentz in Chancel-Bardelot, 2010-11, 45; Wolff, 2011, 21.

¹⁷ The patronage of Mary, Queen of Scots, later in the sixteenth century has, however, been the subject of much scholarly enquiry. See Crépin-Leblond, 2008.

¹⁸ Jean Froissart in his *Chroniques* recounted a tête-à-tête between Jean duc de Berry and his master Sculptor, André Beaneveu which occurred at Mehun-sur-Yvre. The episode reflects the duke's interest in artistic patronage. Froissart, 1901-03, II, xvi; For the patronage of the duc de Berry, among others see: *Inventaires de Jean Duc De Berry*. 1896; Hiver de Beauvoir, 1857, 1860, 1-128, 255-80; Hiver de Beauvoir, 1860; Meiss, 1969; Price 1996, 5-18; Zeman, 1996, 235-273; Chancel-Bardelot, 2004. For Jacques Coeur see: Boardman Kerr, 1927; Mollat, 1988; Mérindol, 1996; Heers, 1997; Reyerson, 2004.

¹⁹ Bos, 2007.

the patronage of the influential Robertet family, while Malcolm Walsby has studied the patronage of the counts of Laval.²⁰ Colette Beaune and Elodie Lequain have similarly studied these issues in relation to the Boulogne-Auvergne dynasty.²¹ More recently still, Philippe Lorentz produced an interesting essay on the relationship between the patron and the artist in France around the year 1500 to accompany the exhibition on the art of early-Renaissance France held in both Paris and Chicago in 2010-11.²² Furthermore, somewhat neglected areas of patronage, such as the role played by women, has recently been addressed in the 2007 work, *Patronnes et mécènes en France à la renaissance*, edited by Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier.²³ All of these studies have sought to emphasise the important role of the patron in the production of visual culture during this period, and have highlighted how an examination of a patron's personality, and career, may provide interesting insights into the works themselves. They show how discovering biographical details about the patrons allows for a more complete reconstruction of the circumstances in which works of art were made. Yet despite this surge in interest in patrons of the arts of France at this time, little work has still been directed towards patrons who might be classed as foreigners. As I have alluded to already, the study of Scots' patronage of the visual arts in France during this period remains almost entirely unexplored. I hope to demonstrate, however, that this untilled field is potentially a very fertile one.

The primary sources for this thesis are of course the works of art themselves, including illuminated manuscripts, medals, paintings, sculpture, tapestry, stained-glass windows, architecture, and wall paintings. This broad range of material brings with it a number of problems and challenges, including locating the works, gaining access to them, and the various problems involved with examining art works in various states of preservation. This thesis takes into account documentary records of works that no longer survive. To this end I am very grateful to Elizabeth Bonner for publishing a 1544 inventory of the Stuart d'Aubigny's household; a document which provides an extraordinary snapshot of seigneurial life in mid-sixteenth century France. I am equally grateful to the patient staff at the Archives nationales and the Bibliothèque nationales, who assisted me in tracing a similar inventory of the Duke of Albany's effects at Chateau Mirefleur, Auvergne. My research included trips to examine illuminated manuscripts in Paris, London, and the Hague, as well as to locate and examine buildings, or their ruins, in the French regions of Berry and the Auvergne. Some of these buildings, like the château and chapel at la Verrerie, are in an extraordinarily good state of preservation, while others, like the châteaux of Concessault and Mirefleur, survive as little more than ruins today. Some unfortunate losses, like the heraldic details

20 Bentley-Cranch, 1987, 69-81, 1988, 317-333, 1994; Walsby, 2007.

21 Beaune & Lequain. 2005, 385-417.

22 Chancel-Bardelot, 2010-11, 45-54; Wolff, 2011, 21-29.

23 Wilson-Chevalier, ed. 2007.

of the Duke of Albany's Sainte Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, are in some way compensated for by the engravings of the eighteenth-century historian, Etienne Baluze; likewise further evidence of the original appearance of the château at Concessault is indicated in the meticulous drawings of the nineteenth-century historian, Buhot de Kersers.²⁴ Perhaps my greatest regret is not having been able to gain access to the Monypenny Breviary in person. My repeated requests were kindly forwarded to the anonymous owner by Sotheby's auction house, but unfortunately elicited no response, and I am therefore even more grateful to the various people and institutions who have furnished me with images of a great number of the Breviary's folios.

The three subjects examined in this thesis have been arranged in approximately chronological order, thus allowing the historical introductions for each family to map out a logical series of events occurring during the period *c.* 1445 – *c.* 1545 in Scotland, France and elsewhere. The dates chosen cover Sir William Monypenny's key diplomatic activities in Scotland and France, through to the death of John Stuart, Duke of Albany in 1536, and later that of Robert Stuart d' Aubigny in 1544. This period has proved to be very interesting, crossing an often arbitrarily imposed boundary, *c.* 1500, which all too frequently divides scholars into the opposing camps of late-medieval and early-modern; a break which more recently has been recognised as both artificial and unhelpful in studying this period.²⁵ Furthermore, the period chosen spans a fascinating time in French political history, encompassing the contrasting rules of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and François I, thus encouraging consideration of the contrasting attitudes of these three rulers to Scots in the service of France.

Each family examined in this thesis has its own unique set of historical circumstances. Together, they provide a good overview of the patronage of wealthy, influential, Scots residing in France during this period, yet each inhabits a different cultural and political sphere. I consider therefore the historical introductions to each chapter as necessary, not only to rectify various misapprehensions that I have encountered during the course of my research, but also to demonstrate the diversity of the careers of these figures and to make clear the particular historical episodes in which each family was involved. A reconstruction of the patron's circumstances allows the scholar to understand a great deal more about the meaning of the works of art. This approach focusses on situating the works into the biographical framework of the patron, and thus allows for a fuller appreciation and understanding of their purpose. With this in mind, as I aim to demonstrate whom each patron may have been influenced by, or have competed with, a historical prologue for each

²⁴ Baluze, 1708, Vol I, 358; Buhot de Kersers. 1895, Vol VII, 246-256.

²⁵ At the recent conference, *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1400-1625* (Edinburgh University, 28-01-12), the plenary discussion focussed on the arbitrary notion of this divide in the context of Scottish History and some of the difficulties this presents.

family cannot be excluded. Furthermore, these are not merely extractions from existing works, but examine historical material, such as the evidence of Abbot William Monypenny's failed episcopal elections in Bourges, that has not hitherto been studied in the context of the families' patronage of the visual arts. The political imagery, references to great warriors, and to military martyr-saints in the Monypenny Breviary, for example, may only properly be understood with knowledge of the various family members' careers and political alliances.²⁶ Equally, the genealogical manuscripts, which I attribute to the patronage of the Duke of Albany, cannot be fully understood without an examination of Albany's relationship to the French king, his fluctuating position as regent of Scotland, and his family ties to the Medici household.²⁷ So while I have kept the historical accounts of each family to a minimum, they are imperative to my overall analysis.

To introduce this study, it is necessary to provide some background to the relationship between Scotland and France during this period, and to clarify why so many Scots travelled to, and settled in, France at this time. The *Auld Alliance* was primarily a military arrangement, invariably directed, during the late-medieval period, against the shared enemy of the Scots and the French: the English. This coalition was continuously renewed between 1295 and the mid-sixteenth century, and was culturally reinforced by a shared belief of its origins in antiquity. During this time, both the Scots and the French believed that the alliance dated back to a specific agreement forged between Achaius, a mythical king of Scotland, and the Emperor Charlemagne.²⁸ The tone of rhetoric used by court officials during this period to bolster the alliance might best be summed up in an oration attributed to Alain Chartier, who was said to have addressed the Scottish court in 1428, speaking in terms of an 'eternal covenant... written on the skin and flesh of men, not with ink but with the mingled blood of both allies'.²⁹

John Stuart of Darnley was an exemplary figure with regards to the advancement available for ambitious Scots in France during the early-fifteenth century.³⁰ Darnley was prominently involved in the decisive Franco-Scottish victory at Baugé in 1421: a major defeat for the English in the Hundred Years War. For his service, a grateful dauphin granted Darnley both the lordship of

26 See chapter one, particularly: Popes, Prisons and Porcupines: *Visual Politics within the Monypenny Breviary*.

27 See chapter three, particularly: Japhet to James: *A Forgotten Genealogy of the Kings of Scotland*.

28 Achaius is included in the manuscript commissioned by John Stuart, Duke of Albany, discussed in chapter three, as the forty-third king of Scotland. Here it notes that: "Atay came to power in 787 and reigned 32 years. His brother the noble Gylmyn or Gillemains (Gilmour the Scot) who (fought?) against the infidels with Charlemagne. He was renowned for marvellous prowess and was the motive for the first friendship between kings of France and Scotland." (Bremond Domat, *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms 936, f.259r, 1519.)

29 Alain Chartier is said to have participated in an embassy to Scotland charged with renewing the Auld Alliance and negotiating the marriage of Margaret of Scotland to the Dauphin Louis in 1428. Barbé, 1917, 16-19.

30 John Stuart of Darnley, (c. 1380-1429). See Michel, 1862; Forbes-Leith, 1882; Cust, 1891, 1-23; Ditcham, 1979; Bonner 1999; Macdougall, 2001; Macdonald, "Sir John Stuart of Darnley," *O.D.N.B.*

Concressault in 1421, and of Aubigny-sur-Nère in 1423.³¹ Furthermore, he received the honour of being granted the right to quarter his arms with the royal arms of France.³² Other Scots commanders were also handsomely rewarded. The Earl of Buchan was granted the highest military honour of being made a constable of France, and was awarded the services of the dauphin's astrologer, Germain de Thibouville.³³ Scots were enlisted in large numbers throughout the course of the fifteenth century to serve either in the royal bodyguard or in one of the ordonnance companies in France, and as these cases demonstrate, they were at times handsomely rewarded for their service. The Garde Écossaise commanded great respect both within France and elsewhere, and literary references from this period testify to the high reputation that Scots soldiers gained. Darnley was mentioned, for instance, in an honourable epitaph from the author of *Le mystère du siège d'Orléans*, referring to him as 'most valiant on earth ... who was so prudent in war'.³⁴ Furthermore he was immortalised in the Spanish romance *Tirant lo blanc* as one of the three great knights of the time worthy of honour.³⁵ The general idea that the Garde Écossaise were fearsome fighters may furthermore be found in a fifteenth-century bawdy tale from the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, where a Scots archer courts the wife of a French townsman and is commended for his military prowess.³⁶ Visual evidence also testifies to the elevated status of the Scottish bodyguard, and the important role they performed for the French king. Fouquet's illumination of *the Adoration of the Magi* in the *Hours of Étienne Chevalier*, for instance, shows Charles VII in the guise of the first Magi surrounded it would appear by his prized band of Scots mercenaries who pose behind him bearing all the hallmarks of a most pampered, privileged corps, (0.1).³⁷ Despite the privileged position that some Scots soldiers held in France, the rank and file Scottish mercenary was not always welcomed. The chronicler of the *Liber Pluscardensis*, for instance, notes how the French disparagingly branded their allies as mere 'mangeurs de moutons et sacs de vin'.³⁸ Furthermore, those soldiers who did rise to positions of power and influence often appear to have inflamed the jealousies of their French

31 Soyer, 1899, 21-34.

32 Cust, 1891, 24.

33 Macdougall, 2001, 66. Immediately after Thibouville joined Buchan's service he apparently prophesied the death of both Charles VI and Henry V, which was born out the following year. Vallet de Viriville, 1862, 260-1.

34 *Le Mystere du Siege d'Orleans*, 2002, 374.

35 'How Tirant asked the hermit to tell him in what era the best knights had lived', Martorell, & Galba, 1085, Rosenthal, trans, 48.

36 *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, 1899, "The Armed Cuckold".

37 The colours worn by the soldiers are those of the king of France – green, pink and white. The *Garde Écossaise* was an elite Scottish military unit founded in 1418 by Charles VII to be personal bodyguards to the French monarchy. It is therefore likely that this is the corps depicted by Fouquet. This is the view taken by Ribault, 1973-4, 5 and MacDougall, 2001. The resplendent uniforms of this guard were recorded by Mathieu d'Escouchy in a written account of Charles VII's entry into Rouen in 1449: 'Appres vindrent la grant garde du roy, archiers et crennequiniens de cent à six-vingts qui estoient mieulx en point que tous les autres et avoient auctons sans manches, de vermeil, de blanc et de vert, tout chargiez d'orfaveries, ayans leurs plumes sur leurs sallades desdictes couleurs et leurs épées et harnas de jambes garnis richement d'argent.' d'Escouchy, 1863, 234-5.

38 *Liber Pluscardensis*, Skene ed, 1877, 265.

counterparts, who in-turn were able to influence the vagaries of royal favour.³⁹

Scottish activity in France during this period was not confined to the battlefield. Increasingly, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Scots travelled to France for educational purposes. A 1325 endowment by Bishop David Murray, towards the maintenance of Scots scholars at the University of Paris, heralded the formation of the Scots College there.⁴⁰ The University of Orléans had by 1336 a large enough Scottish contingent to form a Scottish 'nation' within the university, and in the years that followed Scottish students also travelled to attend the University of Bourges.⁴¹ Important ecclesiastical positions in France also began to be filled by Scots. John Kirkmichael was appointed bishop of Orléans in the early-fifteenth century.⁴² David Beaton became bishop of Mirepoix. The scuffles surrounding three separate elections for the position of archbishop of Bourges at the turn of the sixteenth century all included figures of Scottish descent; Andrew Foreman was successfully elected to the post in 1513.⁴³

Certain areas of France were particularly colonised by Scots, the region of Berry in central France being the most prominent. This stemmed in part from the king's bequests of lands in this area to two prominent Scottish families: the Stuart d'Aubignys and Monypennys. During the reign of Charles VII, Bourges became the location of the royal court and was therefore the most important political hub of the realm. A large contingent of Scots settled in the Bourges parishes of St-Fulgent and St-Pierre-le-Guillard, close to the royal palace of Bourges, suggesting that a number of them may have been employed by the Crown.⁴⁴ Town documents record many Scottish names including, for instance, William Hennryson, John Studd and his son-in-law Gilbert Cunningham, 'seigneur du Sollier', John Dodds, archer of the royal bodyguard, and John Cambre, 'natif du pais d'Ecosse'.⁴⁵ Many of these Scots married into local families and were eventually granted letters of naturalisation.⁴⁶

Furthermore, a number of nineteenth-century French scholars record the existence of an entire Scottish colony just outside of Bourges in the town of St Martin d'Auxigny, (Map 1).⁴⁷ The existence of this colony was based on a local tradition, first recorded by Bengy-Puyvallée in 1810.⁴⁸

39 For contemporary attitudes to Scots mercenaries in France see: Ditcham, 1979 and Contamine, 1992.

40 Tucker, 2001, 30.

41 Tucker, 2001; Kirkpatrick, 1904, 48-103. The University of Bourges was founded in 1464. Henry Scrimgeour was an early-sixteenth century Scottish student, born in Dundee, who was educated in Paris before studying civil law in Bourges. Tucker, "Henry Scrimgeour," *O.D.N.B.*

42 Forbes-Leith, 1882, 17, 42.

43 See chapter one.

44 Michel, 1862; Forbes-Leith, 1882; Gordon, 1919; Ribault, 1973-4.

45 Gordon, 1919; Ribault, 1973-4.

46 Louis XII issued 'general letters of naturalization for all of the nation of Scotland', at Amiens in September 1513. Bonner 1997; Contamine 1992.

47 Bengy-Puyvallée, 1842, 44-45 (written in 1810); Michel, 1862, 1, 145-6; André, 1863, 4-14; Duncan, 1891, 544-549; Barral, 1898, 73; Hervé, 1901, 206-210.

48 Bengy-Puyvallée noted that the seigneurs de Puyvallee were the original benefactors of the Scots colonists,

Bengy-Puyvallée noted that Charles VII had granted the Scots an area of land in the forest of St Martin d'Auxigny with which to clear and construct a settlement. He also granted them certain privileges: the right to cut timber, exemption from land tax, and the exemption from all import duties in the city of Bourges.⁴⁹ George Hervé, writing for the *Revue de l'école d'anthropologie de Paris* in 1901, noted certain characteristics prevalent in this colony such as red hair, the use of Scottish names, and a distinctive manner and work-ethic, quite distinct from those of the local Berrichon populace.⁵⁰

Among the wave of Scottish expatriates who settled in France during the fifteenth century, the Monypennys, Stuart d'Aubignys, and the Duke of Albany became prominent and influential figures in French society. Their influence spanned from church, to court, to battlefield, and was felt as keenly in French circles as in those of their contemporary Scots. Scottish presence in France at this time was, therefore, integral to contemporary society, their legacy spans the breadth of visual culture. Hitherto, Scottish patronage of the visual arts in France during this period has received no significant scholarly study. By examining the patronage of these three families, drawing together a broad range of visual material, this thesis reclaims, as Clouston put it, some of 'the lost luggage of Scotland's past.'⁵¹

conceding their land to the Scots. This indicates that Bengy-Puyvallée's account may have been based on a family tradition. Bengy-Puyvallée, 1842, 44-45.

49 Charles VII frequently visited his château, Salle-de-Roi, in Saint-Martin d'Auxigny. From here he would have overseen the Scottish settlement. The château was abandoned and dismantled in 1589. Today there survives ruins of the château's chapel.

50 Hervé, 1901, 206-7.

51 Clouston, 1983, 84.

CHAPTER 1: THE MONYPENNY FAMILY

Diplomacy and Espionage: *The Monypenny Family in France*

It was rare in the fifteenth century for a man of relatively modest means to achieve as much as the indefatigable Sir William Monypenny. Throughout the course of his career he was involved in the complex diplomatic wrangling between the Scots, French, and English. While the patronage examined in this chapter is mostly associated with his sons, understanding the Monypenny family's position in France is only possible through tracing the career of their father, and thus appreciating the high esteem with which he came to be held by the French court.

The Scottish Monypenny family held lands at Pitmillie in Fife since the early thirteenth century.¹ Sir William Monypenny was born c. 1411, the son of William Monypenny and Margaret Arbuthnott, (Appendix 1a). He entered the Scottish court in the service of James I at a young age and in March 1436 he appears to have accompanied James Kennedy in the train of Princess Margaret of Scotland, when she travelled to France to marry the dauphin, (later Louis XI).² Princess Margaret was accompanied on this voyage by her confessor Peter Monypenny, surely a kinsman of William.³ Monypenny remained in France with the princess, and during this period he won the trust of Charles VII, in whose service he was employed. In 1439, he is described as 'écuyer d'écurie' for the dauphin whom he accompanied on a mission to visit the king in Languedoc.⁴ In July of that year the dauphin granted Monypenny leave to conduct a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, awarding him 150 livres tournois towards the cost of the journey.⁵ He was in Scotland by 1441 where he was nominated on behalf of James II as an ambassador to negotiate with the Duke of Brittany regarding the marriage of the duke's son, Francis, comte de Montfort, to Isabella Stuart, James II's sister. Negotiations proved fruitful; Monypenny was again in the bridal train which escorted the princess to her wedding, at the castle of Aurai on the 30 October, 1442.⁶ He was reimbursed for costs of this mission through the grant of the custom of wool.⁷

On 28 November 1444 Monypenny was granted a safe-conduct to attend the coronation of

1 Burke, 1847, II, 878.

2 Dunlop, 1950, 16-7; Donaldson, 1987, 345.

3 Peter Monypenny may have been Williams brother. In his petition to the pope he is described as confessor to the duchesse de Vienne. Peter Monypenny's seal is appended to a charter to Richard Young, Rector of Lamington, July 1483. Laing, 1866, no. 742.

4 *Lettres de Louis XI*, 1887, III, 157, n.1; Galbreath, 1948, 137.

5 *Lettres de Louis XI*, 1887, III, 157, n.1.

6 Dunlop, 1950, 84; *Ex. Rolls Scot*, V, lvii. - lviii; Barbé, 1919, 4.

7 *Ex. Rolls Scot*, V, 117.

Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI.⁸ From here he travelled to France and in 1445 he was employed by the dauphin and Margaret in an embassy to seek support from the Duchess of Burgundy regarding a proposed marriage match between Margaret's younger sister, Eleanor, and Emperor Frederick III.⁹ The duchess granted her consent and issued a safe-conduct for Eleanor through her territories.¹⁰ This match did not however come to fruition. Princess Eleanor and her sister Joanna, sailed to Flanders accompanied by Monypenny, who appears to have personally met a good deal of their expenses.¹¹ They arrived at Tournai on 19 August 1445, three days after the death of Eleanor's elder sister, Margaret. Charles VII received them and they travelled to Tours arriving in September of that year. Following the failure to secure the marriage discussed, Sigismund, Duke of Austria asked Charles VII for the princess' hand instead.¹² Charles dispatched this request to James II by way of Monypenny, who travelled via England and presented this news to the Scottish court.¹³ James' response was immediate and left all in the capable hands of his 'brother and ally,' the king of France.¹⁴ The marriage arrangements went ahead, promoted by Charles VII 'partly through the agency and largely at the expense of William Monypenny.'¹⁵ In recognition of the efforts of his faithful diplomat, in May 1450 James II granted Monypenny the lands of 'the Hallis of Erth,' Stirlingshire.¹⁶ The marriage treaty between Eleanor and Sigismund was signed on 7 September, 1448. Eleanor was married by proxy the following day and travelled through Burgundy and Switzerland, accompanied by Monypenny between November 1448 and February 1449. During this journey Beaucourt notes that they made an extended visit to the Burgundian court.¹⁷

On his return to France, Monypenny joined the campaign to liberate Normandy from occupying English forces, particularly distinguishing himself during the Siege of Rouen, for which he was knighted on 6 October 1449 by the comte de Dunois.¹⁸ Sometime before April 1450 Charles VII granted him the lands and seigneurie of Concessault in Berry and he is thereafter referred to as

8 *Rotuli Scotiae*, II, 325; *Cal. Docs Relating to Scot*, IV, 1172.

9 Downie, 1999, 179.

10 N.A.S. SP9/2: A letter of Elizabeth, Duchess of Burgundy, requesting that King James II allow his sister, Eleanor, to proceed to France and promising that if she should pass through the granter's dominions, she would be received honourably and provided safe transit. 20 April, 1445.

11 Dunlop, 1950, 85-6, n.3; *Ex. Rolls Scot*, V, 225.

12 Following the failure of this first marriage arrangement, Monypenny partially funded a unsuccessful scheme to marry Eleanor to her elder sisters widowed husband. MacDougall, 2001, 85.

13 In a safe conduct granted on 14 July, 1447, he is styled 'Guillaume de Menypeny, Natif du dit Royaume d'Escoce, éscuier d'ésquieres,' to the king of France. Rymer, 1741, XI, 179.

14 Dunlop, 1950, 89, n.3.

15 Dunlop, 1950, 92.

16 *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.* II, 344, 365, 369, 500, 501. On 8 July, 1450, the king confirmed letters by Sir William Monypenny appointing his 'brother Thomas Flemyng' as baillie of the barony of Monypenny and all other lands in Stirling.

17 Beaucourt, 1881, IV, 370-1.

18 Forbes-Leith, 1882, I, 58.

the sieur de Concessault.¹⁹

On a journey by Monypenny to France in 1450, bearing letters from James II, his ship was driven into the port of Whitby, where he was apprehended and imprisoned by the Abbot. Their goods and jewels were confiscated and their letters sent to Henry VI.²⁰ Monypenny was imprisoned and was not released until an enormous ransom was raised jointly by William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow and Charles VII.²¹ Monypenny's imprisonment interrupted James II's plans to arrange the re-marriage of his sister Isabella. Negotiations did not proceed well, with Isabella steadfastly refusing to oblige and voicing her suspicions that Monypenny was behind uncharitable rumours that surfaced regarding her and her children.²² In 1456 Monypenny was sent by Charles VII to Scotland to persuade James II to work towards peace between France, England, and Scotland.²³ Later the same year Thomas Spens, Bishop of Galloway, wrote from Aigueperse saying he had transferred Princess Annabella, and her sister Joanna, into Monypenny's care, whom he had charged with safely escorting them back to Scotland.²⁴

Documentation dating to 1458 attests to the involvement of Monypenny in Bishop James Kennedy's plans to refound the College and Church of St Salvator at St Andrews.²⁵ The day

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- 19 A letter from James II to Charles VII, 23 April, 1450, mentions 'Wilelmus Monypenny de Conquhirsault,' the latter's ambassador, councillor and chamberlain. Stevenson, 1861, I, 299; Warvin, 1893, III, 186-90, n.2. Furthermore, a seal attached to a document of 16 January, 1457, also styles William Monypenny, seigneur de Concessault. Galbreath, 1948, 137, no. 50. Several French secondary sources state that the seigneurie of Concessault was sold by a member of the Stuart d'Aubigny family to Alexander Monypenny in the late-fifteenth century, however the evidence cited suggests that Concessault was bestowed on the Monypenny family earlier than this, as reward for Sir William's service to the French Crown. e.g. Thaumassière, 1863, 396.
- 20 This event is noted briefly in article 19 of British Library, Cotton Rolls II. 23, which mentions among the envoys, 'Sir William Manypeny, knyght, and Doctor of Lawe.' Manuscript E.5.10 (no.516), Trinity College, Dublin is a late-fifteenth century manuscript of political prophecies, Middle English verses and prose. Among these is the poem, *Cronica*, which is a description of an English naval victory over nine French ships at Whitby Haven by the Earl of Salisbury in November, 1451. The text notes that letters recovered from the envoys disclosed that Charles VII and René, titular king of Sicily planned to invade England at Southampton. Also that Henry IV of Spain was to join James II in Scotland aiding an invasion from the North. All of which speaks volumes of the great distrust during this period between the English and the allies: Scotland and France. Monypenny is mentioned by name in this account and described as baillie of Rouen. This perhaps suggests some form of honorary title he was awarded by this city for his services during the Siege of Rouen. Robbins, 1970, 495-504.
- 21 On 8 July, 1452, Bishop Turnbull accompanied ambassadors to England 'in al gudely haste uponsecret matiris.' *Cal. Docs Relating to Scot*, IV, 1234. Here he made a loan of 550 saleuz to redeem the captivity of Sir William. He left hostages in Monypenny's place, who were still in English hands in 1456. Charles VII granted him 4000 golden crowns 'pour aider a paier sadicte finance et raencon et retirier sesdicts ostaiges.' Instalments of this grant, derived from a salt tax, were still in payment in 1459.
- 22 Dunlop, 1950, 147-8. Isabella was a fiercely independent woman who was a notable patron of the Arts. She lived out her life to old age in an unusually liberated fashion in Brittany. Her signature attests to her still being alive in 1495 at the age of approximately 68 years.
- 23 Dunlop, 1950, 164.
- 24 Annabella Stuart was the youngest daughter of James I and Joan Beaufort. She was betrothed to Louis, Count of Geneva on 14 December, 1444. This betrothal was formally dissolved in 1456. Downie, 1999, 192-218. Monypenny duly saw that both princesses embarked at Harfleur to sail back to Scotland, however treacherous weather conditions forced them to return to port. Their return was postponed until the following spring when Monypenny accompanied them to Kirkcudbright where they were received by the king and queen. *Ex. Rolls Scot*, VI, lvii, 396, 456; Galbreath, 1948, 137-8.
- 25 Kennedy was granted a charter sanctioning the new foundation on 4 April 1458. In November Sir William resigned

Monypenny's lands were endowed to St Salvator's College, he and John Kennedy, provost of St Andrews, were deployed on diplomatic business overseas.²⁶ They were accompanied by Patrick Flockhart, Captain of the Scots Guard, and future father-in-law to Monypenny's eldest son, Alexander. Their tasks were to conclude a treaty with the king of Castille and refer a dispute with Norway over the Western Isles to the arbitration of the king of France. Monypenny and Kennedy were also charged with obtaining sasine of the county of Xaintonge in the name of James II.²⁷ Furthermore, in November of that year Monypenny, with others, including a Master George Monypenny, were instructed to offer the obedience of Scotland to the new pope, Pius II. George Monypenny was at the papal court at Siena in August 1460.²⁸

Meanwhile in England the Yorkists had overthrown the house of Lancaster at the Battle of Northampton on 10 July 1460, encouraging James II to attempt to drive out the remaining English forces from Scotland. During this activity he laid siege to the castle of Roxburgh, where on 3 August 1460 he lost his life.²⁹ Charles VII died the following year. Thus, within the space of a very short period, Monypenny lost the two monarchs he had faithfully served for many years. It is to Monypenny's credit that he appears to have relatively quickly won the trust of the new king of France, Louis XI, who may have harboured doubts about employing his fathers courtiers.

On the 10 March 1464 Monypenny obtained a safe-conduct to pass through England, in order that he might travel to France on behalf of Bishop Kennedy to inform Louis XI of Kennedy's wish to preserve the Scottish alliance with France.³⁰ Between September 1459 and July 1464 Sir William Monypenny was created a lord of Parliament and hereafter was styled William, Lord Monypenny.³¹ Towards the end of 1464 Monypenny travelled to France to inform Louis XI of the Scots progressing negotiations with England, to express existing doubts of the French king's continued good faith, and to inform him of a proposed English marriage match for James III. It was stressed the king should respond quickly to reassure the Scots of his good intentions and to return

his lands in Aberdeen to the king who consequently granted a charter of these same lands to 'the clerics and orators, provost and canons of the Collegiate Church of St Salvator', thus providing the endowment for the Bishop's refounded College. Dunlop, 1950, 194, n.3, 4.

26 *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.*, 1424-1513, II, 641, 642.

27 The county of Xaintonage had been promised to James II's father in 1428, on conditions that had never been fulfilled. Brown, 2000, 110-11; *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.*, II, 647; Barbé, 1919, 72.

28 Cameron, 1934, 139; Dunlop, 1950, 195, n.3.

29 Killed by an exploding canon.

30 Dunlop, 1950, 243; Kendall, 1957, 341; Scofield, 1967, I, 328-9, 350.

31 On the 18 September, 1459, he was described as Sir William Monypenny of Ardweny and Conkersalte and on the 17 July, 1464, as William, lord Monypenny, he was granted a charter of the lands of Kirkennan and the barony of Torstrachan in Kircudbright. 24 October, 1464, William, lord Monypenny resigned lands at Crawfordjohn, Lanark. *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.*, II, 297, 819. 27 January, 1467, Monypenny received sasine of the lands of Leuchars and the annual rent of Balbot. 26 December, 1466, he received a charter of the lands of the barony of Feldy, Perth. *Ex. Rolls Scot.*, IX, 673; *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.*, II, 898.

Monypenny to Scotland hastily.³²

Following the death of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, in May 1465, Monypenny's ties to the Scottish court were considerably weakened, and evidence suggests that thereafter Monypenny was solely employed on diplomatic missions by the French court. If Monypenny's early career was characterised by his tireless work securing Scottish royal marriages overseas, the latter part of his career was characterised by the secret talks he undertook with Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, or *Warwick the Kingmaker*.

On the 11 August 1467 a safe-conduct was authorised for 'Sir William Manypeny Knight, Lord of Manypeny and Congressault, his wife Katerina and their children and servants,' also to the Dieppe vessel 'Le Keruelle Matelyne' of 160 tons burden and a crew of 60 to trade in England. Furthermore, he was granted authority to import wines of Gascony and Aquitaine in said ship.³³ Monypenny arrived in England later that year, and on the 9 November he received a gift from Edward IV 'in reward for his attendance.'³⁴ The following year Monypenny was engaged in private discussions with the Earl of Warwick. A letter dated to the 16 January preserved in the French archives records these discussions.³⁵ Monypenny noted in this letter that Warwick was 'very long in his doings and a little cowardly, but the hour has come when he can no longer dissemble.'³⁶ This letter and another dating to March 1468 have been described by historians of Warwick as furnishing 'the most intimate view of which we have of the Earl of Warwick in a moment of crisis.'³⁷ In this second letter Monypenny assured the French king no man had ever loved him more faithfully than Warwick and Warwick was so greatly loved by the English people that when the earl passed through London, the people cried as if of one voice, 'Warwick! Warwick!' and 'behaved as if God himself had descended from the skies.'³⁸

Monypenny reported his findings to Louis XI, before being sent back to England on further diplomatic duties.³⁹ On the 27 July 1468 a notice was given for the authorisation of a further safe-conduct to Monypenny, his wife, and children, and 50 servants, and also to the Honfleur ship 'Le Marie' of 160 tons and a crew of 60.⁴⁰ On completing this mission and returning to France later that

32 Scofield, 1967, I, 328-9. The instructions given to Monypenny by Kennedy regarding this mission were published in Warvin, 1893, III, 165-175. Louis' perceived bad faith in the eyes of the Scots may be understood by looking at a letter written from Scotland in 1464 by Monypenny, in which he refers to a number of imprudent remarks by Louis about the Scots. This letter is held in Paris, BnF and published in Scofield, 1967, II, Appendix V. Dunlop, 1950, 246-7, n.1.

33 *Cal. Docs Relating to Scot*, IV, 1372.

34 *Cal. Docs Relating to Scot*, IV, 1374; Scofield, 1967, I, 440-1.

35 Warvin, 1893, III, 186-96.

36 Kendall, 1957, 218.

37 Kendall, 1957, 347, n. for 215-7.

38 Scofield, 1967, I, 445.

39 *Cal. Docs Relating to Scot*, IV, 1379.

40 *Cal. Docs Relating to Scot*, IV, 1380.

year records suggest Monypenny fell into the hands of the Bretons, possibly as a result of a shipwreck.⁴¹ The Bretons were at this time in alliance with Burgundy against the French king and Monypenny was once again held for ransom. This time the sum was met by the Bishop of Rochester, who then escorted him to France under an English safe-conduct.⁴²

Having orchestrated a failed rebellion within the house of York against the English king, the Earl of Warwick hastily fled the country in the company of the king's brother, George, Duke of Clarence. Warwick and his fleet of ships fled to France. Having been refused entry to Calais, Warwick's fleet, complete with captured Burgundian and Breton ships, arrived at Honfleur in May 1470. He was received with great honours by the admiral of France and the archbishop of Narbonne. Warwick's arrival in France caused political turmoil in England, France, and Burgundy. No sooner than had the French king learned of the his arrival, than he was bombarded by the enraged Duke of Burgundy with accusations of bad faith. The French king, mindful of avoiding a war with his powerful neighbour, attempted to diffuse the situation by dispatching Monypenny and his secretary, Jean Bourré, to deal with the matter.⁴³ Monypenny was charged with explaining that the French king could not grant an interview while Warwick flaunted his Burgundian prizes, as this would cause Louis XI to break the treaty of Péronne.⁴⁴ Unfortunately for the French king, Warwick was not to be dissuaded and he rejected Monypenny's pleas for him to move. The king responded with furious messages. Eventually it was, however, the French king that gave way and Warwick and the Duke of Clarence were invited to meet with him at Amboise on the 8 June 1470. Following negotiations Warwick left and by the 6 October 1470 he was in London, Henry VI was back on the throne, and Edward IV was a fugitive in Holland. Two years later all was reversed; Warwick had been killed in battle, Edward IV was on the throne, and Henry VI was dead.

These testing diplomatic negotiations between the French king and Warwick were Monypenny's last diplomatic duty for the French Court. Monypenny returned to Scotland in 1471 and appears to have remained there until 1474.⁴⁵ On the 3 October 1471 the Scottish king granted him a charter of the lands of Kirkandris in Kircudbright 'for his faithful and laudable service.'⁴⁶ A payment to his wife for oxen and cows is recorded in 1475.⁴⁷ Monypenny received further grants of lands in 1472 and in 1483-4 records testify to his resignation of his Scottish lands in favour of his

41 Scofield, 1967, I, 449, n.5.

42 Scofield, 1967, I, 472, n.2.

43 Kendall, 1957, 262-7; Kendall, 1974, 229-30.

44 The Treaty of Péronne was signed in Péronne (in the county of Vermandois, then a Burgundian territory) on October 14, 1468, by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and Louis XI of France.

45 From 18 April, 1472, to 20 March, 1474, Monypenny's name appears as a witness on many charters issued under the Great Seal. *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot*, II, 1060, 1061, 1064, 1065, 1076-78, 1085-89, 1100-03, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1108, 1109, 1113, 1115, 1117, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1161.

46 *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot*, II, 1041, 1054, 1055.

47 *Ex. Rolls Scot*, VIII, 287.

son and heir, Alexander.⁴⁸ Meanwhile in France, Louis XI rewarded him for his services by granting him, on the 10 October 1473, the title of seneschal of Xaintonage, that most coveted of titles, Monypenny had tried to obtain for James II in 1458.⁴⁹ The French king also granted him the lands of Vila, near Agen and Aubin, and the viscounty of Auvillass.⁵⁰

It is not known if Monypenny spent his last days in Scotland or France and the date and place of his death remain unknown.⁵¹ He certainly died before 4 July 1488, when his son, Alexander, is recorded as having succeeded him in the peerage.⁵² He married Katherine Stewart, however the place and date of the marriage is also unknown.⁵³ Of this marriage he had two sons, Alexander, and William, and possibly another son and a daughter, George, and Elizabeth.⁵⁴

Of key importance to this thesis are Monypenny's two eldest sons: Alexander, and William. Alexander, his heir, followed in his father's footsteps as a diplomat, primarily between the courts of Scotland and France. William on the other hand entered the service of the Church and became Abbot of St Satur, near Bourges. While the documentation is a little sparser regarding the careers of Alexander and William it is nevertheless clear they rose to high positions and were both based in the region of Berry in central France.

Alexander Monypenny is referred to in contemporary accounts as seigneur de Concessault or lord of Concessault, which has lead some historians to confuse him with his father. A document dating to c.1474, for instance, survives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and appears to be a copy of instructions given to Alexander Monypenny by King Louis XI regarding a diplomatic visit to the Scottish Court.⁵⁵ The basis of this mission was for Louis to reply to a proposition by James III whereby the Scottish king offered to distract Edward IV from attempts to invade France for the sum of 10,000 crowns. The reply Alexander delivered noted that despite the French king's confidence he could deal with the English, he would be glad to be rid of the matter and would pay James III the sum he requested in order that he might concentrate on other things.⁵⁶

48 *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.* II, 1585.

49 Awarded to Monypenny following the death of Patrick Flockhart. *Lettres de Louis XI*, 1887, III, 157, n.1; Galbreath, 1948, 138.

50 *Lettres de Louis XI*, 1887, III, 157, n.1

51 His last record in France is a quittance dated 6 July 1481. *Lettres de Louis XI*, 1887, III, 157, n.1. His last record in Scotland is a resignation of the lands of Buttlis in October, 1485. *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.* II, 1627.

52 *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.* II, 1748.

53 He must have married before October 1458.

54 Forbes-Leith mentions a third son, George. Forbes-Leith, 1882, I, 69. MacDougall also mentions George as Alexander's brother noting that he was described as a Doctor of Law and was employed by Louis XI on a embassy to England in 1470. MacDougall, 1982, 114. A letter written by George Monypenny describing himself as vicar general to the late Alain de Coëtivy, who died on the 22 of July, 1474, was published by Marchegay in 1872. This letter expresses Monypenny's high opinion of de Coëtivy and gives a sense of his loss. Marchegay, 1872, 48-50.

55 Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 6981, f. 214-217; Scofield, 1967, II, 54, n.1, 101, n.2; MacDougall, 1982, 114.

56 Later in 1474 either Sir William, or Alexander, was employed by the French king to arrange a marriage between James III's heir and the daughter of the Duke of Milan. *Cal. State Papers of Milan, (Milan, 1474)*, 270; MacDougall, 1982, 115. This Monypenny may have been in contact with Bérault Stuart d'Aubigny, who was also in Milan at this

Just as the latter half of his father's career hinged on diplomatic negotiations with the Earl of Warwick, the early part of Alexander's career centred around an equally intriguing fifteenth-century figure: Perkin Warbeck.⁵⁷ In 1492, Charles VIII, on hearing of Warbeck's claims to the English throne, dispatched an invitation to France. Warbeck accepted and was received by the French king. His conduct won him great admiration in France and the king settled upon him a princely income, magnificent lodgings, and a bodyguard befitting a royal personage, of which Alexander, Lord of Concessault was made captain.⁵⁸

By 1496, relations between Scotland and England had greatly deteriorated following Warbeck's arrival in Scotland and the failure of an ill-conceived Scottish invasion of England. Shortly before this invasion, Charles VIII sent Alexander to Scotland to mediate between the two parties.⁵⁹ Alexander was received at St Andrews and set about attempting to resolve the conflict. Despite Charles VIII's claims that his envoy was to act as an impartial mediator, Alexander was taken to council by James IV who convinced him of England's wrong-doings.⁶⁰ Alexander is recorded as offering the Scottish king 100,000 crowns to send Warbeck back to France, an offer the Scottish king declined. Another key aim of Alexander's mission was to establish some truths regarding Warbeck's birth. The Earl of Bothwell apparently showed Alexander a document sent by the king of England's secretary. It seems, however, that Alexander chose to turn a blind-eye to what was almost certainly proof of Warbeck's Flemish birth, and instead resumed the close relationship with Warbeck he had formed back in France. Bothwell recorded that Alexander 'and the boy were every day in counsel.'⁶¹ Alexander's mission did little good. The Scottish king refused his requests and Warbeck was in due course expelled from Scotland.⁶²

Following Alexander's dealings with Warbeck in the service of Charles VIII, the documentation regarding his activities becomes sparse. We know he found favour with Louis XII, and his career continued to progress in the service of this new French king. Jean d'Auton mentioned him in accounts of Louis XII's conquest of Milan in 1499.⁶³ In this account he is described as, 'le maistre d'ostel Concessault' and is also recorded as 'chambellan.' Auton noted that during the invasion of Milan, Alexander lost a young page due to gunfire.⁶⁴ In a list of officers in the service of

time.

57 Warbeck, (c.1474 – 1499), was a pretender to the English throne during the reign of King Henry VII of England. By claiming to be Richard of Shrewsbury, 1st Duke of York, (the younger of the so-called Princes in the Tower), he posed a significant threat to the newly established Tudor dynasty.

58 Barbé, 1919, 102.

59 Gairdner, 1898, 310.

60 Ellis, 1776, I, 25-32.

61 Ellis, 1776, I, 28.

62 Alexander Monypenny left Scotland on the 19 of October, 1496, after receiving £90. MacDougall, 1997, 134.

63 Auton, 1889-1895, I, 122.

64 Auton, 1889-1895, I, 125.

the king's house in Italy, July, 1507, Alexander is again listed as a 'maistre d'ostel'.⁶⁵ Records for the budget for the duchy of Milan in 1510 note Alexander was by this time appointed to the position of Captain of Justice for the city noting several payments made to Alexander in this capacity.⁶⁶

There are copies of several interesting documents that record legislation passed by Alexander in this position, all deal with a desire by the French to ensure the conquered duchy of Milan ran in an orderly fashion.⁶⁷ Of interest to this study is a document dated to the 21 of March 1510, signed by Alexander, which deals with the repression and punishment of blasphemous or sacrilegious behaviour.⁶⁸ In this document Alexander warns that if anyone 'instigates the devil, ...in anger or without anger. To strike, batter or deface insultingly the image or figure of God, or of Our Lady, or of male or female saints, besides the given punishment, I want to have his right or left hand cut off, whichever is more powerful.....'⁶⁹ This grizzly punishment illustrates a brutal approach by the French forces in controlling their Milanese subjects, but also gives us some indication of the respect and, perhaps fear, scared images still instilled in the French. This attitude had for some time been open to challenge in Italy, where a recognition of the abuses of the clergy had lead to outbreaks of iconoclasm in the early-sixteenth century.⁷⁰ It would be unwise to give a personal interpretation to such a public document, yet evidence suggests Alexander, and his brother Abbot William Monypenny, were both important patrons of religious art in France. Alexander's own views on the importance of religious art in society may therefore perhaps be elicited from his attempts to protect visual imagery from harm during his time in Milan.

The French position in Milan became increasingly difficult from 1510 onwards, after Julius II took control of the Vatican and formed the 'Holy League' to oppose French territorial ambitions. The French were eventually driven from Milan by the Swiss in 1513. Following this expulsion, Auton notes that by 1514 Alexander had become chevalier d'honneur for Louis XII's third wife, Mary of England.⁷¹ I have found no trace of him beyond this point.

During the course of his early career Alexander was keen to rid himself of the lands his father had acquired in Scotland, and settle permanently in France. Thus from c.1483-1495 we find

65 Auton, 1889-1895, IV, 366.

66 Auton, 1889-1895, II, 362, 388.

67 The French ruled the duchy of Milan from 1499 - 1513 when they were ousted by the Swiss who put Ludovico Sforza's son, Massimiliano, on the throne.

68 Another document written by Alexander dated to 12 April, 1510, is entitled 'Arrêté relatif a la recherche d'un cheval perdu', (Bill on searching for a lost horse) and a third which is addressed to Alexander is entitled 'Arrêté interdisant le jeu des 'Pugne', (Bill on prohibiting the game of fisticuffs). Péliissier, 1891, 244-246.

69 Péliissier, 1891, 81. 'Édit pour la Répression des Blasphèmes et Sacrilèges', 244-5.

70 Nagel, 2005, 385-409; Nagel. 2011. 197-300.

71 Auton, 1889-1895, I, 122, n.2; *Cal. State Papers Relating to English Affairs in Venice*, II: 1509-1519, 202-213. Louis XII married Mary Tudor, the younger sister of Henry VIII, on 9 October, 1514. Louis XII died on 1 January, 1515, less than three months after his marriage.

numerous records of his resignation of lands in Scotland.⁷² Alexander clearly saw his base as Concessault in Berry, central France. At some point he appears to have been awarded the seigneurie of Varennes.⁷³ He married Marguerite Flockhart, the daughter of his father's compatriot, Patrick Flockhart, although again the date is not known.⁷⁴ Alexander and Marguerite had a number of children: Charles who was slain at the Battle of Terranova in 1495; Louis, Lord of Varenne, Captain of 100 Scots Men-at-Arms; Anne who married three times and was heiress to Concessault by 1528; and Françoise who married François de Courtenay.⁷⁵

Alexander's younger brother, William Monypenny, was awarded his baccalaureate in canon law on the 20 February 1477 at the University of Paris.⁷⁶ In a version of events often been repeated by later historians, Francisque Michel stated that William Monypenny became abbot, (commendatory), of Saint Satur in Sancerre, Berry, rising to sufficient standing to have been elected to the position of archbishop by the chapter of Bourges in 1512.⁷⁷ William Monypenny's quest to become archbishop of Bourges was, however, more drawn-out and complicated than this would suggest. William was indeed appointed abbot of Saint-Satur, however the records show he was also elected by the canons of Bourges to archbishop in 1492, as well as at the later date of 1512.⁷⁸ The registers of parliament record the process he and his supporters had to undergo to settle a conflict with Guillaume de Cambray, regarding who was the rightful archbishop in 1492.⁷⁹ Julerot's study of disorder in episcopal elections under Charles VIII gives some idea of the conflict and discord that arose from such disputes. It is worth noting the course of these events, as the timing of this episode is important for the patronage examined later in this chapter.

There were two conflicts for the post of archbishop of Bourges in the late-fifteenth century.

72 *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.* II, 1585, 1748, 1837, 2000.

73 Auton, 1889-1895, I, 122, n.2, Thaumassière, 1863, 396.

74 Michel, 1862, I, 204, n.3.

75 Anne Monypenny's three husbands were: John Stewart of Henriestoun, lord of Oizon, (first cousin, once removed of Bérault Stuart d'Aubigny) Jean de Montferrand, lord of Bourg, and Antoine de la Rochechandry. Michel, 1862, I, 204-5; Thaumassière, 1863, 396, 397.

76 'Supplicacione in Facultate facta per nobilem virum Guillelmum de Mesnypeny, clericum, Bituricensis dioc., quatenus ad examen baccalariatus in jure canonico admitteretur,...' Dorez & Fournier, 1821, II, 356.

77 Michel took his lead in this version of events from Thaumassière. Thaumassière, 1863, 397; Michel, 1862, I, 204. This version is repeated by among others, Put, 1922, 72-114; Tucker, 2001, 131-3.

78 The dates of William Monypenny's abbacy at Saint-Satur have caused confusion. *Gallia Christiana*, incorrectly dates Monypenny's abbacy to the late 13th C. *Gallia Christiana*, II, 188. There is however a gap in the list of Abbots of Saint-Satur from 1489 - 1523 and it is likely that this covers the tenure of his Abbacy. Ribault notes that William Monypenny was ordained in Rome in 1483 and received on this occasion the commendation of the Abbey of Saint-Satur, which was confirmed the following year, after the death of the previous abbot, Cyprien Julien. Ribault, 2002, 35.

79 The archbishops of Bourges for this time were: Jean Coeur, 1446-1483, Pierre Cadouët, 1483-1492, Guillaume de Cambray, 1492-1505, Michel de Bucy, 1505-1511, Andrew Forman, 1513. Following the death of Jean Coeur there was a conflict surrounding the post between Cadouët and Cambray, Cadouët eventually being successful. Again following Cadouët's death there was a conflict between Monypenny, who was elected, and Cambray, who had been promised the post. Cambray was successful. Dorez & Fournier, 1821, II, 356. For an examination of these conflicts see: Julerot, 2006. Julerot does not however mention the later events of 1512.

The first followed the death of Archbishop Jean Coeur in 1483. On this occasion Guillaume de Cambray was elected, yet the post was bestowed on Pierre Cadouët by the Crown. Cadouët was already of great age, and died in 1492. This caused a second conflict when Abbot William Monypenny was elected by the canons of Bourges to the position, but the seat had already been promised to Cambray by the Crown.⁸⁰ The conflict took over a year to be settled, and the eventual resolution saw Monypenny resign his seat in favour of Cambray. This was not an orderly dispute. The documentation suggests Monypenny had well-established pretensions to the seat of archbishop, and furthermore had support in these ambitions. Records show Monypenny arranged for a group of dissident canons to proceed with his election in secret. His family were warned to come to this election with armed men to protect these dissidents.⁸¹ The accounts show the secret election went ahead and Monypenny was successfully named archbishop. It is noted when the bells of Bourges rang out to announce the conclusion of this election, Cambray's men ran into the street and great bloodshed followed.⁸² Following Monypenny's election, the matter was taken up at court in Paris. The subsequent tribunal decreed Monypenny renounce his seat, and it be awarded to Cambray. Cambray's successful promotion was announced in April 1493.⁸³

Although Julerot suggests Monypenny was awarded, by means of compensation, a 'reserve' place to become the next archbishop of Bourges, records show Cambray was succeeded by Michel de Bucy in 1505.⁸⁴ It seems likely at this time similar events occurred, and Monypenny's ambitions were once again thwarted by the king, in this case, Louis XII, who wished to see his illegitimate son, Michel de Bucy, awarded this prestigious seat.

The position of archbishop of Bourges became vacant once more in 1512 after the death of de Bucy. Again the outcome of the election was altered by the direct intervention of the king. In this case the canons of Bourges again voted for Abbot William Monypenny, however Louis XII objected and put forward a replacement candidate, Christophe de Brillac, Bishop of Orléans. From April 13 – 27, five letters, written by Louis XII, repeatedly explained royal interests and requested the chapter reverse its decision. On the 17 April an important royal delegation arrived in Bourges, composed of Montmorency, Gabriel de la Châtre, the chancellor of France, and bishops of Cahors and Paris.⁸⁵ The motivation behind this delegation appears to have been to resolve a deadlock caused by the chapters refusal to accept the royal choice of de Brillac, and who stood by their election of Monypenny regardless of the king's wishes.

80 Julerot, 2006, 383.

81 'Gens armez et embastonnez' Julerot, 2006, 294.

82 Julerot, 2006, 294.

83 Julerot, 2006, 406.

84 Julerot, 2006, 404, n.150.

85 Raynal, 1844, III, 256-9; Rivaud, 1999, 522, 60-2.

Royal indecision lead to further confusion, after Louis XII abandoned his support for de Brillac and championed instead Mathieu Langen, secretary to the Emperor Maximilian.⁸⁶ However, following the Battle of Ravenna on the 12 April 1512 and the subsequent loss of Milan, the alliances that had prevailed in Louis XII's reasoning were crucially disrupted and he was forced to rethink the candidature for a third time. The successful candidate was finally elected in 1513, and was another Scot; Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray and ambassador for James IV.⁸⁷ After a prolonged and complicated election the canons of Bourges had a Scottish archbishop, but not the one they had supported. It is difficult not to feel some sympathy for Abbot William Monypenny, who appears to have been repeatedly elected to the prestigious seat of archbishop of Bourges by his peers, and yet was repeatedly thwarted in his ambitions by the capricious alliances of two successive kings of France.

Following the 1512 election in Bourges, the records regarding Abbot Monypenny's activities dwindle and his prominence appears to fade. We know, however, that Monypenny was still working as an ecclesiastic in Bourges in 1520, as documents describing an ecclesiastical visit on the 13 July of this year, mention 'Révérend Père en Dieu, M. Guillaume de Ménypény, Abbé de Saint Satur et chanoine de l'eglise de Bourges.'⁸⁸

86 Raynal, 1844, III, 257-8; Rivaud, 1999, 522, 61.

87 Andrew Forman, (c. 1465 – 11 March, 1521), would have been well known to Alexander Monypenny as he was designated by the Scottish king to look after Perkin Warbeck at the Scottish Court from 1495-7. During which time Alexander was sent to Scotland on diplomatic duties.

88 Toubau de Maisonneuve, 1914, xlv

The Château de Concressault: *Jean, duc de Berry and the Monypennys*

On the 21 April 1421, John Stuart of Darnley was awarded the château and town of Concressault in Berry for his valiant efforts in aiding French forces against the English at the Battle of Baugé.⁸⁹ In March 1423 the seigneurie of Aubigny-sur-Nère, a few miles to the west, was added to this prize, (Map 1).⁹⁰ These grants of lands were almost certainly inherited by John Stuart of Darnley's son, Sir Alan Stuart, seigneur d'Aubigny.⁹¹ Although Elisabeth Cust and others have suggested the lands of Concressault remained in the procession of the Stuarts d'Aubigny family until the late 1480s, when they were sold to Alexander Monypenny, evidence in the Scottish records suggests the seigneurie of Concressault was awarded by the French king to Sir William Monypenny approximately thirty years earlier.⁹²

The château of Concressault was situated on a site of strategic importance commanding a ford across the *Grande Sauldre*, a river which during the fifteenth century was considered a formidable obstacle. Jean, duc de Berry had rebuilt this château following its destruction by the English and had his arms, supported by his emblems, the bear, and the swan, and his device 'Le temps venra', placed over the main doorway.⁹³ Today little is left of the château which fell into ruins at the time of the Revolution, however, an early description of the château provides a good account of how it looked in the mid-sixteenth century, (1.1-4). Jean Chaumeau writing in 1566 describes the château in some detail.⁹⁴ He notes '.... Jean de France, duc de Berry rebuilt the château, very strong and powerful, and such that when seen it could only astonish the enemy. Because the walls were constructed and built of great blocks of hard stone, being about 36ft in length and 100ft high. It is formed like a large hexagon, having six corners at which are strong towers of the same hexagonal shape and equally spaced from one another. The foot of the wall is surrounded by a moat 100ft wide and 12ft deep, ordinarily full of water as the river Sauldre normally fills it. And because the walls of the château are so solidly built, the superstructure built on top of them is high and built of diverse coloured bricks, arranged in subtle designs. The roof is clad with dark, hard slate, well laid and the whole is topped with gilded lead and enriched with designs of all sorts of animals, especially bears and swans, excellently painted and naturally portrayed. Near and below the château is a deep trench

89 Concressault is also referred to as Conquersaut, Concorsault, or Congressault.

90 Soyer, 1899, 21-34.

91 Cust, 1891, 25.

92 Perhaps for his services to the French Crown during the Siege of Rouen. See note 18.

93 Buhot de Kersers, 1874, VII, 252; Bengy-Puyvallée, 1934, XLV, xlii; Champeaux, & Gauchery, 1887, 25-6.

94 Chaumeau, 1566, 275-6. His description was copied by Nicholas de Nicolay a year later, who probably never visited the château himself: Nicolay, 1567, 58-9.

leading into the river Sauldre, and deep enough to fish in.....which is known as the 'fosse des Angloys'. It received its name from an incident during the reign of Charles VII. An English force was besieging the château, but were driven off by a vigorous counter-attack by the garrison. In their panic-stricken flight, a great many, while attempting to cross the river, fell into the trench and drowned.⁹⁵

Chaumeau continues by noting that long after the duc de Berry's time the château was given by the king to 'un capitaine Escossoys nommé Dumenipenil, pour aucuns bons & agreables services a luy faictz au faict de ses guerres.'⁹⁶ Chaumeau's description of the château de Concessault suggests this was a formidable fortress primarily designed for the strategic principle of defending a key ford in the river Sauldre during the Hundred Years War, and thus defending important French territories from the English. Yet this was not solely a utilitarian building. Chaumeau's account is fascinating for the details he gives of the buildings aesthetic ornamentation. His description of the roof of the building as, 'enrichy de figures de plusieurs & divers animaux, specialemét d'ours & cygnes, excellemment painctz & pourtaictz après le naturel,' suggests this was a rather beautifully ornamented château. Not only was it enriched with the kind of gilded lead plumbing we see in evidence on the duc de Berry's other châteaux, it also suggests the building was decorated with a multitude of animal forms, most particularly the duke's emblems: the swan and the bear, all excellently painted and portrayed in a life-like manner.⁹⁷ It is unfortunate there is no contemporary pictorial representation of the château de Concessault, such as we have for a number of the duke's other great chateaux.⁹⁸ Mehun-sur-Yèvre, for instance was immortalised both in a glowing account by Froissart, and in an illumination by the Limbourg brothers for the duke's *Très Riches Heures*, a manuscript that contains representations of a number of the duke's properties, (1.5).⁹⁹ The duc de Berry was a great patron of building projects, commissioning some of the most magnificent châteaux of his time. The bequest of the château de Concessault must have been perceived as a most generous gift from the French king to the Monypenny family. The construction of both Concessault and Mehun-sur-Yèvre may be attributed to the duke's Master-of-Works, Guy de Dammartin, with the aid of his brother Drouet de Dammartin and although few remnants of the

95 Chaumeau, 1566, 275. Jean Chaumeau, lord of Lassay was a lawyer and archaeologist and the son of a solicitor of the city of Bourges. He was elected alderman of this city in 1540. This, his only known work, contains a legendary story about the origin, antiquity, and nobility of the province and the capital of Berry. This section of text is also given in translation by Donaldson, 1987, 345.

96 This supports the view stated that Concessault was awarded to Sir William Monypenny for services to the French Crown rather than bought by Alexander Monypenny at a later date. Chaumeau, 1566, 276.

97 Chaumeau, 1566, 275.

98 An attempt was made by Durrieu to identify a building in BnF, Paris ms. Lat. 18014, f.288, (*Petites Heures of the duc de Berry*), with the Chateau de Concessault, however there is no evidence to support this identification. Chenu, 1931, 249.

99 Froissart, who had visited Mehun-surYèvre several times, described it as 'one of the handsomest castles in the world.' Froissart, 1901-03, II, xvi.

château's sculptural decoration survive it is conceivable it may have included the work of one of the duke's highly skilled sculptors such as André Beauneveu, or Jean de Cambrai.¹⁰⁰ A single sculpted medallion survives from the château de Concressault, in a private collection. It shows an angel presenting the arms of the duke; a tiny surviving fragment of a once great scheme of decoration, (1.6).¹⁰¹

Of significance to a study of the patronage of the Monypennys is Chaumeau's description of the upper section of the building as being 'faitz de briques de diverse couleurs bié & subtilement ordonnées.'¹⁰² This account of decorative brickwork allows us to date this upper section to the late-fifteenth century, and implies it was an addition constructed during the period of ownership by the Monypenny family. This style of decorative geometric design, using coloured and glazed bricks arranged into various motifs, was in vogue in châteaux of the Loire Valley built towards the end of the fifteenth century. An interesting example of the intricate patterns that could be achieved may be seen in the brickwork of the château de Gien, (1.7). The addition of this new and decorative building style demonstrates the Monypennys' interest in updating the property in a style that was new and fashionable. Furthermore, that the Monypenny family had the wherewithal to carry out such improvements to their property may be seen in an account dating to 1513 relating to the construction of the Hôtel-Dieu in Bourges. This account mentions the Monypenny family provided in goodwill, an old crane for the construction of this building.¹⁰³ Perhaps this was a piece of equipment they still owned after undertaking improvements on the château de Concressault.

100 Champeaux, & Gauchery, 1887, 18-28; Gauchery, 1898, 255 – 79.

101 The medallion was published in Chancel-Bardelot, 2004, 58; Baudoin, 1998, 125. Baudoin suggests this may be the work of Drouet de Dammartin.

102 Chaumeau, 1566, 275.

103 Hamon, 2003, 13, n.10, 30.

The Patronage of the Monypenny Breviary: *The Heraldic Evidence*

The Monypenny Breviary is a lavishly illuminated manuscript, first brought to scholarly attention by Albert van de Put in 1922.¹⁰⁴ The work is a thick tome of eight hundred and twenty-two leaves, containing fifty full-page illuminated miniatures, and twelve finely illustrated calendar pages. It is written in Latin, is of Roman use, and is encased in a fine Parisian mosaic gilt binding, dating to c.1560.¹⁰⁵

The manuscript resurfaced in the twentieth century in a Franciscan convent at Los Arcos, near Jerez de la Frontera, in south-west Spain. It was subsequently bought in Seville c.1920 by Lionel Harris, of the Spanish Art Gallery, London. At this time the Breviary narrowly escaped the grim fate of being dismantled and sold off as separate folios.¹⁰⁶ Dudley Coleman bought the Breviary in 1935 for £4,500, prior to it being acquired by Major J. R. Abbey in 1952 for £5,400. It was subsequently sold at Sotheby's, London, in June 1989, with a guide price of £400,000 - £600,000.¹⁰⁷ The Breviary was publicly displayed for the first, and only time at the exhibition, *Les Manuscrits à Peintures*, at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, in 1993. Finally, the Breviary was last sold at Sotheby's, London, for £3,303,500 in 2000, establishing a new world auction record for a French illuminated manuscript.¹⁰⁸

A breviary is a liturgical book in the Catholic Church that contains the daily service for the divine office; consisting of psalms, readings, and hymns, that are recited at the canonical hours by the clergy, religious orders, and laity.¹⁰⁹ Richly illuminated breviaries dating to the late Middle Ages, such as the Monypenny Breviary, were usually written for private use. They were commissioned by wealthy patrons wishing to own a visually stimulating, and personalised, religious text that would aid their devotion and help establish a more direct personal connection to God.

There can be no doubt the Monypenny Breviary was not only owned, but was also

104 Put, 1922, 72-114.

105 Possibly the work of Caude de Picques. *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Celebrated Library of The Late Major J.R. Abbey. The Eleventh and Final Part*. (London: Sotheby's: Monday 19 June, 1989), lot 3031, 131.

106 '....it seems more probable that this highly interesting manuscript will be broken up and the miniatures sold separately. Mr Harris has been urged to do this: but it goes against the grain and he has so far refrained.' Beck, 1929, 277.

107 *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Celebrated Library of The Late Major J.R. Abbey. The Eleventh and Final Part*. (London: Sotheby's: Monday 19 June, 1989), lot 3031.

108 *Three Supremely Important Illuminated Manuscripts from a Distinguished Private Collection*. (London: Sotheby's: Thursday 6 July 2000), lot 79. The manuscript is currently in a private collection. The buyer is unknown and has not replied to my requests to see the manuscript. I have however obtained images of 44 of the 50 full page illuminations and 8 of the 12 calendar pages from other sources.

109 The word breviary (Lat. *Breviarum*) signifies an abridgement or a compendium. The Divine Office or the Liturgy of the Hours is the official set of daily prayers prescribed by the Catholic Church to be recited at the canonical hours.

commissioned by members of the Monypenny family. The Monypenny arms appear in the manuscript eighteen times in different configurations, on ten separate folios, (Appendix 1b). Furthermore, a number of folios are also ornamented with the arms of the duchy of Berry and the royal arms of France. Such personal decorative devices are evidence of the direct involvement of the Monypenny family in the works commission. An examination of these motifs, and other specific iconographic details, reveal the extent to which the Monypenny family dictated the final form of the work. The remainder of this chapter will examine and interpret various sets of iconographic details, the significance of which may only be understood in the light of biographical details of the Monypenny family. Examining the Breviary in this way sheds light on the Monypenny family's social identity and aspirations. Furthermore, it situates the manuscript within the historical circumstances of its production, and thus sheds new light on previously misinterpreted visual symbols.

The arms of Lord William Monypenny are as follows: Quarterly: 1,4 or a dolphin haurient embowed azure; 2,3, gules three crescents, each surmounted by a crosslet fitchy argent. An early surviving example of the Monypenny arms in this form may be seen in the *Armorial de Berry* by Gilles le Bouvier, of 1450-55, (1.8).¹¹⁰ Gilles le Bouvier was a writer, and herald of great distinction. Within his preface to the armorial, Bouvier notes he travelled widely through every district of France, collecting material for his work. Of the 125 coats of arms of Scottish nobles included in the work, William Monypenny's appear labelled as 'Le Sire de Menipegny'.¹¹¹ Sir William Monypenny was the first member of this family to quarter the Monypenny arms with the dolphin, suggesting he received an augmentation of the insignia of the dauphin of France. A similar concession is examined in the second chapter of this thesis: the right bestowed upon John Stuart of Darnley to quarter the Stuart arms with the royal arms of France. William Monypenny's arms are recorded as containing this quartering on a seal dating to 1439, suggesting that Sir William received this honour very early in his career. It is likely this may have occurred following his diplomatic duties surrounding the marriage of Princess Margaret to the dauphin in 1436.¹¹²

Two later examples of William Monypenny's seal, dating to 1468, and 1471, show his arms again in this form supplemented with a crest of a helmet, a wreath, and a peacock in his pride. The ensemble is supported by two wild-women, (1.9-10).¹¹³ The seal is an interesting example of

¹¹⁰ *Armorial de Berry*, Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 4985, 1450-55; Clouston, 1983, 72.

¹¹¹ The Monypenny arms appear a second time in the armorial on f.166. In this instance they are not quartered with the dolphin and therefore do not refer to the Franco-Scottish line of the family.

¹¹² This early seal features the Monypenny arms quartered with the dolphin but with no crest and no supporting figures. Galbreath, 1948, 137, no. 49. An even earlier seal connected to William Monypenny dating to 1421 in the British Museum does not use the dolphin. Birch, 1895, IV, 502, no. 16653.

¹¹³ The Panmure seal is listed in MacDonald, 1904, 256, no. 2014; Birch, 1895, IV, 502, no. 16654; Laing, 1866, 100, no. 589.

sigillographic design. The peacock, a symbol of pride and dignity, sits well with what we know of William Monypenny's long and successful career as a diplomat. The two female supporters conflate a long tradition of employing wild-men and women, as supporters for coats of arms, with a distinctive northern aesthetic for the female nude. The proportions of the female figures clearly reflect the archetypal northern female nude employed by Jan van Eyck in his figure of Eve on the Ghent Altarpiece in 1432, and later, for instance, in Fouquet's wild-women in the *Hours of Étienne Chevalier* (1.11).¹¹⁴ The swollen bellies, the high narrow waist, and long hair all conform to an aesthetic of female nudity that was popular at this time. Monypenny's seal was therefore the very height of heraldic fashion for mid-fifteenth century northern Europe.¹¹⁵

Within the Monypenny Breviary the Monypenny arms appear in four different configurations: unadorned held by a cupid, an angel, or on their own; charged on a crosier, or with a crosier in the vicinity; supported by wild-men or women; or dimidiated with the arms of the house of Stuart, (1.12-3).¹¹⁶ The arms of the duchy of Berry occur on two separate folios, and the royal arms of France on three. The use of wild-men and women as supporters for the arms appears to be a direct reference to the seal, certainly used by Sir William Monypenny, and perhaps later used by his son, Alexander.¹¹⁷ The Monypenny arms dimidiated with those of Stuart relate to Sir William Monypenny's wife, Katherine.¹¹⁸

The juxtaposition of the Monypenny arms and the crozier refers to Sir William Monypenny's second son, William Monypenny, Abbot of Saint-Satur. This interpretation is confirmed by f.745v, (1.14). Here the Monypenny arms charged on a crozier appear twice supported by angels, dressed in albs and dalmatics, standing in niches within the architectural frame. The upper miniature shows a group of male saints being flogged, behind them two female saints are shown praying while they are also beaten. The scene is presided over by an emperor seated on a throne at the far end of the

114 For the Ghent Altarpiece see: Dhanens, 1973; Dhanens, 1983; Borchert, 2002; Borchert, 2010; Born & Martens, 2012; Kemperdick & Lammertse, 2012; De Mey, Martens, & Stroo, 2012. For Fouquet's *Hours of Étienne Chevalier* see: Schaefer & Sterling, 1972; Avril & Reynaud, 1993; Avril 2003; Reynaud, 2006; Inglis, 2011.

115 William Monypenny's seal is very close in design to that used by John Stuart of Darnley, the Scottish knight who was granted the siegneury of Concessault and Aubigny-sur-Nère by Charles VII in the 1420s. Darnley's seal follows the same arrangement with two wildmen supporting his arms and with a bull's head as a crest. An example of his seal dating to 1426 is illustrated in Gandilhon, 1933, no.278, 55-6, pl. XXVI. For wildmen/women see Bernheimer, 1952; White, 1972; Bartra, 1994; Mobley, 1997.

116 Unadorned Monypenny arms occur twice within the calendar on f.4r and f.4v, alongside a miniature of *Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate*, f.479v, and twice on a depiction of *the Martyrdom of St John the Evangelist*, f.530r. The arms, charged on a crozier, occur twice beside *the Martyrdom of St Andrew*, f.470r, four times flanking *the Presentation of the Virgin*, f.647v, twice beside *St Martin and the Beggar*, f.713r, and twice beside *the Martyrdom of St Satur*, f.745r. The arms also occur twice in the vicinity of a crosier on f.316v, where both the arms and the croziers are held by wildmen and women.

117 I have been unable to trace a copy of a seal belonging to Alexander Monypenny.

118 Sir William Monypenny married Katherine Stuart, although it is unclear as to which line of the Stuarts she belonged. Alexander Monypenny's daughter Anne, married John Stewart, lord of Oizon, however as a member of the Stuart d'Aubigny family his arms would have been quartered with the royal arms of France. The arms on f.736v of the Breviary cannot therefore refer to Anne Monypenny and must refer to Katherine.

hall, he is flanked by three seated figures on each side. Below this scene is a representation of the martyrdom of St Saturninus, Perpetua, Felicity and their companions, as it is told in the Golden Legend.¹¹⁹ It illustrates the saints being 'thrown to the wild beasts. Satyrus and Perpetua were devoured by lions, Revocatus and Felicity by leopards, and blessed Saturninus had his head cut off.'¹²⁰ The miniature shows the two female and two male saints being dragged towards a cage of lions, and leopards, while in the background St Saturninus is beheaded.¹²¹ This image is a reference to the Abbey of St Satur, and to its Abbot, William Monypenny. The use of the Monypenny arms and the crozier throughout the manuscript suggest the Abbot played an important role in its commission.

This was not however a manuscript commission by the Abbot for his own private use. The Abbey of St Satur was an Augustinian Abbey, yet evidence within the Breviary suggests it was written for a member of the family connected to the Franciscan order.¹²² This evidence is apparent both within the text and the iconography, which will be explored in more detail later. This apparent inconsistency may be explained by the involvement of the Abbot's elder brother, Alexander, either as the recipient of the manuscript, or the manuscript being a joint family commission.

Further evidence the manuscript may have been made for Alexander is found on f.339r, which presents the unusual iconography, for a breviary, of Alexander the Great, (1.15). The upper image shows a vigorous and violent depiction of Alexander the Great riding Bucephalus who is adorned in a blue caparison strewn with golden suns. Alexander plunges his lance through the armour of his enemy, Darius. Several figures behind Darius are shown dead or dying and falling to the ground. In the background the Persian and Macedonian armies continue to fight, while two kings pray as they look heavenwards. The use of dramatic close-up is employed here to great effect, drawing the viewer into the bloody action. The banner of text separating the upper and lower images reads, 'Now it came to pass after that Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, who first reigned in Greece, coming out of the land of Cethim, had overthrown Darius, king of the Persians and Medes: He fought many battles, took the strongholds of all, and slew the kings of the earth.'¹²³

119 Voragine, 1993, II, 342-3. The upper miniature relates to an earlier part of this story where we are told that, 'seeing the Martyr's constancy, the prefect subjected them to a long scourging and put them in jail.'

120 Voragine, 1993, II, 343.

121 Careful examination of this image shows that there are two different types of wild beasts in the cage: a lion and two leopards. (A comparison may be made to leopards depicted on f.18r).

122 Francis C. Eeles pointed out that in the sanctorale the rubric before the translation of St Francis contains the words *beati patris nostri*. There are full services for the Franciscan feasts of St Bernardine, (20 May), translation of St Francis, (25 May), SS. Anthony of Padua, (13 June), St Clare, (12 August), St Louis, (19 August), *Impressio sacrorum stigmatum beati Francisci*, (17 September), and translation of St Clare, (2 October), all of which is sufficient to show that the manuscript was produced for a member of the Monypenny family connected to the Franciscan order. Put, 1922, 113.

123 1 Maccabees 1:1. The Master of the Monypenny Breviary uses this composition again in the bas-de-page image of Paris, BnF, Ars. ms. 3430, f.1r.

The bas-de-page image shows Alexander on his deathbed splitting his kingdoms between his four followers. Not only was Alexander the Great the namesake of Alexander Monypenny, but this image of bloody warfare, and of Alexander as victor, would have resonated with Monypenny as a courtier, and knight, as well as a diplomat. Furthermore the radiant sun motif on Bucephalus' caparison is a Sun of Justice, or *Sol Iustitiae*, an emblem which was frequently used by Charles VIII to recall a sovereign's most important function: to uphold and safeguard justice in the realm.¹²⁴ Its use in this instance would have evoked parallels between the great victories of Alexander the Great and contemporary events, such as Charles VIII's first Italian expedition, and his ambitions to extend this enterprise into a fully fledged crusade.¹²⁵

The inclusion of the royal arms of France would also have resonated with an important courtier for the French Crown such as Alexander. An example of these arms occurs on f.525r, (1.16). Here the upper image shows St Helena discovering the True Cross, and the lower, shows the vision of Constantine.¹²⁶ In the main image, St Helena kneels in prayer, the three recently excavated crosses lie before her. In order to distinguish the True Cross from those of the thieves, Helena sent for a sick woman. Upon touching the True Cross, the sick woman was revived, thus identifying the true relic. We see here the woman reviving before Helena and groups of onlookers. The scene is depicted before the walled city of Jerusalem, here envisaged as a late-medieval French town. It is flanked by eight expressive faux-sculptural figures of elders. The lower image is flanked by pillars of fleur-de-lis. In this ingenious bas-de-page the Emperor Constantine is depicted in bed in a camp he has set up on the banks of a river.¹²⁷ Several of his soldiers sleep outside while an angel awakens him and urges him to look upwards. Here he witnessed a celestial vision: the sign of the cross in flaming light with the legend, *in hoc signo vinces*, written in gold.¹²⁸ His enemies, standing on the far bank of the river, watch open-mouthed.

Quite apart from the ingenious narrative construction of the scene, and the skilful handling of a scene at dusk, the image again would have resonated with Alexander Monypenny. The *très-chrétien* king, Charles VIII, frequently sought to draw parallels between himself and the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great.¹²⁹ This image both links the French Crown to the spiritual awakening of Constantine, and draws specific parallels between the reigning monarch and first

124 The Sun of Justice was an emblem associated with Constantine I the Great. Charles adopted it to bolster his imperial pretensions. Scheller, 1981-2, 17-57.

125 Later in this thesis the Breviary is dated to 1492 – 95. Its commission and production would therefore have overlapped with Charles VIII 1494 expedition to Italy and his conquest of Naples.

126 The story of St Helena supervising the recovery of the true cross is told in the Golden Legend, as is Constantine's vision. Voragine, 1993, I, 277 – 284.

127 Voragine, 1993, I, 279.

128 'In this sign you will conquer'.

129 Scheller, 1981-2, 17-57.

Christian emperor. Implicit in this parallel are ideas of imperialism and holy war.

Returning to the upper image of Helena and the True Cross, the inclusion of a building within the walls of Jerusalem, that would have been recognised as a Sainte-Chapelle, underscores a central theme of this image: the power of Christian relics.¹³⁰ This is a theme which occurs in a number of illuminations throughout the manuscript and one which would certainly have held specific associations for the Monypenny family in general, and Abbot William Monypenny in particular. As we have already established, the 1490s were a critical period for Abbot Monypenny's career. He was by this point sufficiently well-established in the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical circles of Bourges to have been elected to the position of archbishop. Monypenny was at this time denied his accession to the post, with the agreement however, that he would be next in line.¹³¹ It is against this backdrop the images of relics, particularly those with a specific association to Bourges, must be viewed.

The arms of the region of Berry occur twice within the Breviary: on f.470r, *the Martyrdom of St Andrew*, and on f.636r, *the Martyrdom of St Bartholomew*, (1.17-18). On f.470r the connection to Abbot William Monypenny is highlighted by the inclusion of the Monypenny arms charged on a crosier. The Berry heraldry is of importance for our reading of the image of St Andrew: firstly it indicates this saint should be understood in a local Berry context, rather than a Scottish one, and secondly it associates the saint with a particular local figure. Although the Monypennys may have recognised the saint as patron saint of Scotland, the artist has sought to stress a more local association. The arms on the pillars refer specifically to the late Jean, duc de Berry.¹³² St Andrew was the patron saint of the duc de Berry, and as such featured prominently within his manuscripts. Furthermore similar arrangements of the Berry arms on coloured backgrounds, strewn with foliage are found in a number of the Duke's manuscripts and other items, (1.19). The arms of the duc de Berry as seen in the Monypenny Breviary are not repeated in other examples of the work of the atelier that executed this manuscript, and thus suggests they were included at the request of the patron. It should be remembered that the Monypenny family were based in a château built by the duc de Berry and ornamented with examples of his insignia. It is therefore unsurprising this very famous patron of the arts would have cast a long shadow over the patronage of the Monypenny

¹³⁰ The main miniature, building furthest to the left. Although it might be tempting to identify this building with the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges, the absence of a central spire precludes this identification. It is more likely a generic representation of a Sainte-Chapelle rather than a specific building.

¹³¹ See notes 82-4.

¹³² Jean, duc de Berry, died in 1416 leaving no issue. The title was subsequently recreated in 1417 for the Duke of Touraine, who succeeded to the throne as Charles VII in 1422. His younger son Charles was given the duchy of Berry in 1461 but exchanged it for Normandy in 1465. Jeanne of France, the first wife of Louis XII was made duchess of Berry after the annulment of her marriage in 1498. In 1492-5 there was therefore no duke or duchess of Berry.

family.

Inventories of the duc de Berry's collections record he owned relics of both St Andrew and of St Bartholomew.¹³³ The relic of St Andrew was described in some detail in an inventory of the treasury of Bourges Cathedral taken in 1537; '... a great *joyau*, of gilded silver fashioned like masonry, in which is the left hand of St Andrew the apostle, in a large round crystal and the said hand is decorated with gold and six small enamel escutcheons with the arms of the late duc de Berry and on top of the fingers a gold clasp decorated with six rings, one bigger than the others, five sapphires and fifteen large pearls and made in this said *joyau*, a pillar with several small pillars and two small lizards in the manner of gargoyles, weighing fifty-eight marks five ounces.'¹³⁴ This description highlights the splendour and magnificence of such reliquaries. The image of the martyrdom of St Bartholomew on f.636r in the Monypenny Breviary appears to draw on the aesthetic of the reliquary. As well as including enamel-like panels of the duc de Berry's arms, it also includes gleaming gold pillars encrusted with precious stones, and small dragons reminiscent of decorative gargoyles. The resplendent architecture in the miniature mimics the sumptuous materials of a reliquary.¹³⁵ Both miniatures, f.470r and f.636r conflate images of saint's martyrdoms, with references to important relics of those saints, once belonging to the duc de Berry, and in the 1490s held in the treasury of Bourges Cathedral or the Sainte-Chapelle. Both reliquaries would have been familiar to Abbot Monypenny and to the artists working on the Breviary.¹³⁶ The Berry arms on f.470r and f.636r in the Monypenny Breviary appear, therefore, to refer directly to two local reliquaries originally commissioned by Jean, duc de Berry. The inclusion of the Monypenny arms with the crosier draws a direct connection between the reliquaries and Abbot William Monypenny to whom they no doubt meant a great deal.

133 Guiffrey, 1894-6, II, 60, 137, 274, 912-3. Antonio de Beatus recorded seeing the reliquary of St Andrew on a visit to Bourges in his travel diary of 1517-8. Beatus, 1979, 137.

134 My own translation. Girardot, 1859, 13, no 5.

135 St Andrew and St Bartholomew also appear in stained-glass windows in the south side of the choir clerestory of Bourges Cathedral, (c. 1210-15). Evidence that illuminated miniatures could be understood to evoke the idea of a reliquary is found in a near contemporary miniature of the *Crucifixion*, at the Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Angres. In this image the figure of Christ is depicted crucified on a large gold, bejewelled crucifix. The crucifix is surrounded by decorative borders of pearls and intricate enamel work, clearly mimicking an ornate reliquary. The image conflates of an event from Christ's life with a reliquary containing relics of the True Cross. *The Crucifixion in the form of a Reliquary*, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Angres. Inv. MA III R 405. c. 1480.

136 The fame and drawing-power of relics should not be underestimated, nor should the pride that local clergy must have felt in possessing them. An account dating to the 4 July, 1514, for instance, records that the chapter of Bourges cathedral received 'un escu soleil que l'ambassadeur d'Écosse a donné pour avoir veu et visité le trésor et les reliques de l'église', Girardot, 1859, 3-4. The type of bejewelled pillars depicted within the St Bartholomew miniature in the Monypenny Breviary are also depicted within a miniature of Saint Tugal in the *Hours of Louis de Laval*, f. 306, a closely related manuscript illuminated principally by the Colombe atelier. Again in this instance they appear to evoke the idea of a specific reliquary. After his death, Louis de Laval was interred within the choir of the collegiate church of Saint-Tugal in Laval. In this chapel were preserved the relics of St Tugal, bishop of Tréguier, which had been brought to Laval in the ninth century. Laval's mother, Anne de Laval, (d.1466), commissioned a solid silver reliquary to house these relics.

Other local references in the manuscript include saints in the calendar associated with the diocese of Bourges: Saint William, archbishop of Bourges, January 10; Saint Satyrus, March 7; Eutropius of Saintes, April 30; Saint Vincent, June 6, and Saint Victor, September 18.¹³⁷ The inclusion of these saints may indicate the particular devotional enthusiasms of the Monypenny family. Furthermore, the arrangement of saints suggests that an original and complex organisational structure was sought in the composition of the calendar. The entry for Saint Satur on the 7 March, for instance, was carefully arranged so that the illumination adjacent to the text corresponded to the feast day. In this instance the feast day of Saint Satur occurs next to an image of the planetary deity Saturn, and below this, the feast day of St Joseph corresponds to an image of Jupiter, (1.20). The decorative program for the calendar is composed of three parts: images of the signs of the zodiac and the labours of the month; images of planetary deities, virtues, or liberal arts; and a series of the creation cycle. The depictions of zodiac signs, labours of the month, and the creation cycle are not unusual and are close to other calendars worked on by the Colombe and Montluçon ateliers.¹³⁸ The series of planetary deities, virtues, and liberal arts is, however, more unusual. The iconography was carefully copied from a series of fifteenth-century Italian prints known as the *Mantegna Tarocchi*.¹³⁹ This series of prints survive in two forms, the *E-series*, and the *S-series*. Details in the Monypenny Breviary demonstrate the artists had access to a set of the earlier *E-series* prints.¹⁴⁰ The *Mantegna Tarocchi* are thought to have been used as educational aids, bound into pamphlets, where they presented an ordered and hierarchical model of the cosmos. The deviser of the decorative program in the Monypenny Breviary has taken this idea one step further, integrating this series of images into an established structure of months, zodiac signs, and labours, conflating essentially pagan

¹³⁷ Put, 1922, Appendix II, 112.

¹³⁸ See particularly the calendars within the *Vanderbilt Hours*, Yale, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Ms. 436, and the *Grenoble Hours*, Grenoble, Bibliographe Municipale, ms. 1011. To a lesser extent see: The *Chappes Hours*, Paris, BnF, Ars. ms. 438, The *Hours of Louis de Laval*, Paris, BnF, Lat. 920, and the *Hours of Louis, duc d'Orléans*, St Petersburg. National Library of Russia, Ms. Lat Q.v I 126. (The creation cycle is particularly close to that found within the *Vanderbilt* and *Grenoble Hours*)

¹³⁹ The correlation of the imagery within the Breviary and these prints has not been noticed before. *Mantegna Tarocchi* is a misnomer, as the prints are neither the work of Mantegna, nor tarot cards. The name refers to two sets of Italian engravings, by two different, unknown, artists: The *E-series* and the *S-series*. The artists are known as the 'Master of the *E-series Tarocchi*' and the 'Master of the *S-series Tarocchi*'. Their place and dates of creation are debated, however, Ferrara c.1465 (*E-series*) and 1470-5 (*S-series*) are considered likely. The cards consist of five pictorial sequences: The Conditions of Man, (Miserable, Servant, Artisan, Merchant, Gentlemen, Knight, Doge, King, Emperor, Pope); Apollo and the Muses, (Calliope, Urania, Terpsichore, Erato, Polimnia, Talia, Melpomene, Euterpe, Clio, Apollo); The Liberal Arts, (*Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, Poetry, Philosophy, Astrology, Theology*); The three Cosmic Powers and the Virtues, (*Illiac, Chronico, Cosmico, Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude, Justice, Charity, Hope, Faith*); The ten Firmaments, (*Luna, Mercury, Venus, The Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Eighth Sphere, Prime Movement, Prime Cause*). Those engravings copied into the Monypenny Breviary are given in Italics. They follow the standard order found in the prints, however, the sets are arranged with the planets first, followed by the Virtues, and lastly by the Liberal Arts.

¹⁴⁰ The later *S-Series* of prints are less detailed. Comparing the images of Saturn, for instance, demonstrates that the *S-series* artist omits the handle on the shaft of the scythe that is included in the *E-series*. This detail is included in the Saturn image in the Monypenny Breviary, indicating that the prints available to the artist were the earlier *E-series*

elements within the structure of the Christian calendar. The attempt to harmonise these various different intellectual traditions into an encyclopaedic, all-encompassing model of the universe speaks volumes about the late-medieval mindset.¹⁴¹ The Monypenny Breviary is not, however, alone in its use of this iconography in its calendar. At least one other surviving manuscript from the same period, also illuminated in Bourges contains iconography derived from the *Mantegna Tarocchi*.¹⁴² In this second example no attempt has been made to retain the original order of the images, or to constructing any clear iconographic pattern. The inclusion of the iconography, in this instance, appears to be purely aesthetic. This evidence suggests a copy of the *Mantegna Tarocchi* was held by the Colombe or Montluçon ateliers in Bourges and it cannot be supposed therefore that it was made available to the artists by the Monypenny family. The intricate organisation of the iconography, however, demonstrates a desire to unify the planetary deity of Saturn with the feast-day specific to the Abbey of Saint-Satur. It thus indicates this may have been at the request of Abbot William Monypenny.

The illuminations in the Monypenny Breviary may be attributed to several hands connected to the Montluçon atelier. The Montluçons were a family of painters and illuminators active in Bourges towards the end of the fifteenth century. Jean Raoul de Montluçon settled in Bourges c. 1460, where he owned three houses, a vineyard, and married Louise Debrille, the daughter of a local notary.¹⁴³ In 1469 the house in which he was living was very close to that of the illuminator Jean Colombe.¹⁴⁴ Jean Raoul's son, Jacquelin, was also an illuminator and continued to run the atelier after his father's death in 1494.¹⁴⁵ A signature stating 'DEMOLISON' on f.766r, in the Monypenny Breviary, identifies one of the hands found within this manuscript as a member of the Montluçon family, (1.21).¹⁴⁶ A miniature in a Book of Hours belonging to the Bourbon Chappes family bears the signature 'IOHANNES DE MONTELVICIO ME PINXIT,' referring to Jean Raoul de Montluçon, and thus forms the basis for attributions to this artist.¹⁴⁷ A comparison of this miniature and those in the Monypenny Breviary demonstrates Jean Raoul did not work on this manuscript, suggesting the signature on f.766r refers to his son, Jacquelin, an identification that sits comfortably with the dating of the Breviary. Jacquelin de Montluçon similarly signed a sleeve of a

141 Seznec, 1972, 122-147.

142 London, British Library, Add. Ms 11866. A late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century Book of Hours, containing the arms of the French Thiboult family. Saturn and an approximation of the figure of Mars from the *Mantegna Tarocchi* are also included within Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 365, f. 43v, f.64, illuminated by the Montluçon atelier, illustrated in Schaefer, 1981, 125-178.

143 Jean Raoul de Montluçon (Montluçon, 1417 - Bourges, 1494).

144 For documentary accounts of the Montluçons see: Girardot, 1961, 238. Ribault, 1967, 313-22. Schaefer, 1980, 52. Ulysse, 1880-1, II. 304-6.

145 Jacqueline de Montluçon, (Bourges, 1463 – Bourges, 1505).

146 The signature was first noticed by Put who claimed to see the letters 'LIN' before the surname. Put, 1922, 72-114.

147 Paris, BnF, Ars. ms. 438, f.74. For the Chappes Hours see: Moulinet, 1985-1986, 97-111, 148-57; Avril, & Reynaud, 1998, no. 187.

figure within a retable of *the Raising of Lazarus*, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, (1.22).¹⁴⁸ A comparison between the figurative types found in this painting and those in the Monypenny Breviary confirms the identification of Jacquelin as one of the major artists responsible for the illuminations in this manuscript.¹⁴⁹

The main illumination on f.766r shows a cohort of martyrs, with three prominent military saints and a larger robed saint holding a knotted staff, (1.21).¹⁵⁰ They are depicted in front of a large crowd of saints and soldiers. The bas-de-page image below shows a variety of grisly martyrdoms. The shield and the pennant of the foremost saint to the left, identify this figure as Saint George, an identification which seems at odds with the Scottish heritage of the patrons. We know, however, there was at least one George Monypenny in the family, and therefore the saint may have held a particular family significance.¹⁵¹ The central military saint has hitherto been identified as Theodore of Heraclea, however, a more likely identification, given the saint's pennant and the fleur-de-lis on his armour, would be Saint Victor. This identification is reinforced by the inclusion of the feast-day for Saint Victor in the calendar and the corresponding collect.¹⁵² The large saint to the right of the composition has also caused confusion. Initially identified by Van der Put as James the Less, the saint was subsequently referred to as Saint Christopher by Schaefer and de Hamel.¹⁵³ While the large size of the saint and the staff might suggest an identification with St Christopher, one would normally expect to see this saint carrying the Christ Child on his shoulders.¹⁵⁴ The identification of

148 The Retable of the Antonite church in Chambéry: two panels at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon: *The Raising of Lazarus* and *the Annunciation* on one panel, and *the Adoration of the Shepherds* on the other. Two panels now at the Musée Savoisien, Chambéry: *Christ's descent into Limbo* and *the Martyrdom of St Catherine*, and two panels in private collections: *The Last Supper* and *the Adoration of the Christ Child*. Ribault, 1994, 285-301; Sterling, 1978, 337-342. A polyptych depicting scenes of the life of the Virgin was recently restored to the church of Notre-Dame, Montluçon, and is attributed to Jean Raoul de Montluçon. Ribault, 2002, 35-42.

149 Compare for instance the figures of Christ on f.136v and f.193r, in the Monypenny Breviary, with the figures of Christ from *the Raising of Lazarus* and the *Christ's Descent into Limbo*, both from the Retable of the Antonite church in Chambéry.

150 The three prominent military saints are distinguished by their distinctive red hats. In a liturgical context the colour red held associations with the feast of martyrs, representing the blood of those who suffered death for their faith.

151 See notes 28 and 54.

152 The identification of this saint with Theodore of Heraclea was first made by van der Put and has been copied by all subsequent authors. Put based this identification on a group of sculpted martyr saints within the south porch of Chartres Cathedral, however, Theodore of Heraclea was not a popular saint in Europe during the Middle Ages and this identification has little to support it. Put, 1922, 84. Close to the military saints within the Monypenny Breviary is a retable in Tallinn attributed to the Master of the Saint Lucy Legend. Here two military saints, St George and probably Saint Victor flank an image of the Virgin and Child. In this instance St George is depicted in exactly the same pose, with the same armour, pennant, and head-ware. Saint Victor's arms are most frequently depicted on an azure field. St Maurice another popular military saint often bears the same arms but on a crimson field. St Victor's arms may be seen, for instance, on a panel painting by a Flemish artist, of the saint presenting a donor held in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982.60.18-19, c.1490.

153 Put, 1922, 84; Avril, & Reynaud, 1998, no. 189. The first Sotheby's sale catalogue identifies the saint as St James the Less, the latter changes this to St Christopher: *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Celebrated Library of The Late Major J.R. Abbey. The Eleventh and Final Part*. (London: Sotheby's: Monday 19 June, 1989). *Three Supremely Important Illuminated Manuscripts from a Distinguished Private Collection*, (London: Sotheby's: Thursday 6 July 2000).

154 A comparison between this saint and an image of Saint Christopher in the *Grenoble Hours*, (Bibliographer

this saint with James the Less, commonly shown holding a club, would be appropriate given Jacquelin de Montluçon's signature on the hem of his robe.¹⁵⁵ The knotted staff the saint is holding may be identified as a symbol of the house of Orléans. Orléanist symbolism occurs repeatedly throughout the manuscript and shall be discussed in greater depth later. The confusion surrounding the attribute of his staff may stem therefore from the artists wish to present the saints attribute as an Orléanist symbol.¹⁵⁶ The overall theme of the illumination may be understood in similar terms to that of Alexander the Great, as symbolic of victorious warfare, evoking ideas of a crusade and of holy war, themes which would have appealed to a knight such as Alexander Monypenny. The depiction of the military saints in contemporary armour and the inclusion of the Orléanist symbol refer to the contemporary events discussed later in this thesis regarding Louis, duc d'Orléans and his imprisonment in Bourges.

In his work of 1922, Van der Put assigned the miniatures to three different hands. This categorisation has remained largely unchallenged by subsequent scholars. Reynaud did however re-attribute the first hand from Jean Raoul Montluçon to the eponymous Maître de Monypenny.¹⁵⁷ In broad terms, the identification of these three hands: the Maître de Monypenny, Jacquelin de Montluçon, and an anonymous third hand, or hands, remains convincing, with some alterations in the division of the miniatures (Appendix 1c). The first hand, the Maître de Monypenny, is perhaps the easiest to distinguish. This artist was responsible for the opening series of miniatures dealing with visionary iconography. His style is robust, with strongly modelled figures often shown in dramatic close-up. His male figures are easily identifiable by their prominent cheek bones, which have strong shadows underneath. This artist's work may be seen within several other manuscripts, including the *Vanderbilt Hours* at Yale, (1.23).¹⁵⁸ In this manuscript the Maître de Monypenny demonstrates the same figurative types and compositional structures, but also uses the same framing devices and border decoration. The second group of illuminations in the Monypenny Breviary are the work of Jacquelin de Montluçon. His work is characterised by a delicate approach to depicting figures, their skin is often very pale and the features dainty. His landscapes and townscapes are very accomplished. A good example of his work is the Crucifixion scene, which reveals a very skilful representation of perspective, atmosphere, and drama, (1.33). The last hand, or hands, belong no

Municipale, ms. 1011. f.62r), also executed by the Montluçon atelier demonstrates that the Monypenny saint is not Saint Christopher.

155 The illumination may represent the Theban Legion. A legion of 6666 men who converted to Christianity and were martyred together. The account of this story in the Golden Legend tells how James the Less converted the Thebans to Christianity and would thus explain his appearance in this illumination. Voragine, 1993, II, 189.

156 Evidence discussed later in this thesis suggests that both the artists and the patrons of this manuscript held Orléanist sympathies.

157 Reynaud, 1977, 53.

158 The *Vanderbilt Hours*, Yale, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Ms. 436. Other works by this artist include the *Grenoble Hours*, Grenoble, Bibliographe Municipale, ms. 1011; Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 365 and Ars. ms. 3430.

doubt to workshop assistants who were responsible for the more clumsily executed miniatures. These works show the close relationship between this atelier and that of Colombe. Many compositional details derive from those included in the *Hours of Louis de Laval*. This group of miniatures varies in quality, but are typified by the flat and rather unsuccessful illumination found on f.750r.

The Monypenny Breviary is a monumental achievement in late-fifteenth century manuscript illumination in Bourges. It includes illuminations of great skill and aesthetic appeal, and yet is also charged with contemporary socio-political references. While examining the precise details of the heraldry and the artists is fundamental to understanding the work, the depth and complexity of its decorative program only becomes apparent after studying the iconographic program as a whole. The following chapters will address several different themes developed in this program and illustrate the complexity of the manuscripts textual and artistic scope.

*'Brothers knowing, that it is now the hour for us to rise from sleep. For now our salvation is nearer than when we believed The night is passed and the day is at hand. Let us, therefore cast off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day.'*¹⁵⁹

Allegories pertaining to a battle of light versus darkness, and sight versus blindness, are key themes explored in both the text and images in the Monypenny Breviary. The opening lines on folio 8r, given above, are accompanied by a vigorous depiction of St Paul exhorting the Romans to awaken from their sleep, (1.24). The message in the text is spelt out in the image, by the slumped Roman figure in the foreground deep in sleep contrasting with the Saint and those figures he has raised, who look heavenwards and 'see' a shining vision of Christ. The metaphor conflates sleep with spiritual blindness, and awaking from sleep, with a spiritual awakening. If, as suggested, Abbot William Monypenny commissioned this manuscript for his courtly brother, Alexander, the message is only too clear – he exhorts him to metaphorically open his eyes, and 'see.'

The use of visionary iconography was certainly not unusual in the art of this period, however the persistence with which it is employed in the opening section of the Monypenny Breviary requires some consideration. The justification for the use of images as the starting point in devotional meditation stretches back at least as far as St Augustine, who divides vision into three separate stages: corporeal vision, requiring the sight of our eyes, spiritual vision, requiring use of imagination, and intellectual vision, requiring the contemplation of abstract ideas.¹⁶⁰ This tripartite concept of vision was fundamental to the medieval psychology of prayer and devotion, and is thus essential to the understanding of the use of images in order to facilitate devotional meditation. This spiritual or intellectual level of vision was exemplified in illustrations of the Book of Revelation, where, for instance, an angel literally directs St John's gaze towards a vision, instructing him to worship God, (1.25).¹⁶¹ This early-mediaeval example of visionary iconography is not so far removed from the opening miniature of the Monypenny Breviary, where St Paul directs the gaze of the slumbering Romans towards a vision of Christ, and thus opens their eyes to a new mode of

¹⁵⁹ Romans 13.11-12.

¹⁶⁰ St Augustine, XII, 1-30 (esp. 4). For a broader discussion of sight and the use of images for devotional meditation see: Ringbom, 1984, 15; Os, 1994; Camille, 1996; Marks, 2004; Nash, 2008, 271-88. As the abbot of an Augustinian abbey, William Monypenny would have followed the teachings of St Augustine. It is likely that this is behind the breviary's focus on visionary texts and imagery.

¹⁶¹ 'And I fell down before his feet, to adore him and he says to me: See thou do it not. I am your fellow servant and of your brethren who have the testimony of Jesus. Adore God. For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.' Revelation 19.10

sight.

The next miniature presented to the viewer again deals with the issue of sight and spiritual visions, (1.26). The upper image shows a deathbed scene, depicted at the moment the soul has ascended from the dying man's body to join a group of angels. The visionary aspect is twofold; as the viewer, we witness the soul surrounded by a mandorla of angels, yet we also witness the vision appearing to that soul: a small demon and Christ as the Man-of-Sorrows. Neither of these visions are seen by the mourning figures within the miniature. The bas-de-page image shows another deathbed scene of King David with Bathsheba and Nathan. The text reads, '*And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord, He shall not judge according to the sight of the eyes, nor reprove according to the hearing of the ears. But he shall judge the poor with justice.*'¹⁶² A more predictable iconographic counterpart to this passage would have been the Tree of Jesse, shown issuing from the sleeping Old Testament figure's side. The themes of genealogy and inheritance are still important factors within the miniature, however the primary focus is instead, a lesson in the art of dying well.

Ars Moriendi, or the Art of Dying, was an extremely popular fifteenth-century text which offered advice on the conventions and procedures for a good death.¹⁶³ It instructed the viewer on the dignity of death and advised on the need to reject the five temptations that came to a dying person on their deathbed: lack of faith, despair, impatience, spiritual pride, and avarice. The miniature in the Monypenny Breviary is loosely based on the last woodcut in this manual. This woodcut shows the dying figure has successfully navigated the maze of temptations and his soul has been accepted into heaven, a priest places a candle into the dead man's hands, a vision of Christ on the cross is shown at his bedside, while a small pack of demons howl and scamper into retreat, (1.27). The Monypenny Breviary image, however, differs in several subtle respects. Most important is the prominence given to the Man-of-Sorrows, who is placed in the foreground, facing the viewer rather than the dying man. He displays the wounds of his Passion to us, the viewer, rather than to the other figures. The image thereby becomes a Franciscan devotional image, where the viewer is confronted with the physical pain of Christ's plight and asked to sympathise with it. The devotional aspect of this image fits well with the textual evidence that this Breviary was commissioned for use by a follower of the Franciscan devotion. The second difference in the Monypenny image is that the scene would have less been understood as a generic lesson in the art of dying, and more as a

¹⁶² Isaiah 11.2

¹⁶³ For *Ars Moriendi* see: O'Connor. 1942; Boase. 1972; Ariès 1983, 107-10; Mâle. 1986, 348-55; Duffy. 1992, 313-27; Binski. 1996; Dubruck & Gusick. 1999.

particular example of an exemplary death; possibly that of Sir William Monypenny the elder. The striped livery colours adorning the bedspread indicate that to the original viewer, the dying man and his wife, shown grieving by his bedside, would have been immediately identifiable. While research has not been able to establish with certainty that these livery colours belonged to the Monypenny family, this is the most likely explanation.¹⁶⁴

The illumination that follows the deathbed scene is its counterpoint, and is pivotal for our understanding of the entire manuscript. Following the illumination of a virtuous death, we are presented with an image of a virtuous life; perhaps again that of Sir William Monypenny the elder, (1.28). The illumination shows a male figure, dressed in a plain brown robe, kneeling in prayer before an altar, he raises his eyes to see a vision of Christ, again as Man-of-Sorrows, appearing between two candlesticks. His face betrays a man of advancing years and his hair is short, greying, and in a style that would have been old fashioned in the 1490s. The lower image shows a family, of a husband, wife, and two sons, kneeling in a chapel before an open chest of gold coins. The text accompanying the images reads: *'Woe to you that are deep of heart, to hide your counsel from the Lord: and their works are in the dark, and they say: Who sees us, and who knows us? This thought of yours is perverse: as if the clay should think against the potter, and the work should say to the maker thereof: You made me not.....And in that day the deaf shall hear the words of the book, and out of darkness and obscurity the eyes of the blind shall see.'*¹⁶⁵ The message in the illumination is spelt out in the rhetoric of sight, equating darkness and an inability to see with spiritual blindness, and equating the cure for this blindness with spiritual revelation. The depiction of the elderly figure kneeling in the dark chapel, focussing on the brilliantly lit vision of Christ is a strikingly literal visualisation of Isaiah's words 'out of darkness and obscurity the eyes of the blind shall see.' The illumination again stresses an adherence to the Franciscan devotion in the plain brown robe and in Christ's action of emphasising his wounds to the viewer. The figure in the main image is therefore not Abbot William Monypenny. As an Abbot, it is unlikely he would have been portrayed in such plain robes and as an Abbot of an Augustinian Abbey, his identification with this figure is even less likely. Given the obvious distance in age between this figure and the family group below, it is most likely that this image is a posthumous 'portrait' of Sir William Monypenny the elder and the group

¹⁶⁴ Research has produced one match for these colours. This is in a bas-de-page image of f.138 in Sébastien Mamerot's, *Les passages d'outremer*, c.1470-5, illuminated by the Colombe atelier, in connection with the Montluçon atelier, (Paris, BnF. fr. 5594). The main image on this folio shows Bernard of Clairvaux preaching before the second crusade. The bas-de-page image, shows Louis VII departing on the second crusade accompanied by nobles and soldiers, (c.1147). The figure closest to the king rides a horse bearing a caparison of the same livery colours as those used in the deathbed scene in the Monypenny Breviary. Since the Mamerot manuscript was illuminated in Bourges at a time when the Monypenny family were very prominent, some reference to Monypennys is plausible. Connections between this manuscript and the Montluçon atelier support this hypothesis.

¹⁶⁵ Isaiah 29.15

below is his son and heir, Alexander, with his wife Marguerite, and their two sons, Charles and Louis.¹⁶⁶ This suggests this illumination was executed before 1495, when Charles was slain at the Battle of Terranova. The lower image on this folio is as intriguing as the main image. While no reference to sight is made in the form of a vision, the direction of each figures gaze is central to its meaning. The male figure is shown in prayer, his eyes slightly lifted to focus on a golden altarpiece placed on an altar. He has his back to a door. Outside, a herdsman with his sheep and cattle, is rapping on the door with a stick. The man's wife sits on the floor and stares at an open chest of gold coins, the child on her right gazes at her, while the child on her left looks upwards towards the main image above. If we identify the group as Alexander Monypenny and his family, the image may read as a message from his brother, Abbot William, reminding him not to neglect the duties of his estates and to avoid the pitfalls and distractions of wealth. Thus while the chest of coins makes for a pleasing rebus on the name, Monypenny, its inclusion also appears to have a didactic function. It was employed to remind Alexander that his, and his family's, devotions should be directed towards God rather than towards fame and fortune. The prominent sleeping dogs situated at each side of this image perhaps relate to another quote from Isaiah where he likens unbelievers to sleeping dogs: *'His watchmen are all blind, they are all ignorant dumb dogs not able to bark, seeing vain things, sleeping and loving dreams.'*¹⁶⁷ A sentiment that fits well with the reading of the lower image.

The fourth illumination that completes this initial set of images of visions is on f.56v, (1.29).¹⁶⁸ The main image shows the Tiburtine Sibyl directing the gaze of the Emperor Augustus through an open window and towards a radiant vision of the Virgin and Child. The text accompanying the image reads *'and he prayed in his sight, saying: O Lord God of Israel, who sits upon the cherubims, you alone are the God of all the kings of the earth: you made heaven and earth: Incline your ear, and hear: open, O Lord, your eyes and see: and hear all the words of Sennacherib, who has sent to upbraid unto us the living God.'*¹⁶⁹ The image is again a call to 'look' and to 'see,' conflating seeing with understanding, and vision with belief. The apocryphal story of the Emperor Augustus and the Tibertine Sibyl is recounted in the Golden Legend.¹⁷⁰ The Roman Senate wished to deify the Emperor Augustus as a reward for promoting peace. The prudent emperor however consulted the Tiburtine Sibyl to ask if there would ever be a man greater than he. The Sibyl responded at noon on the day of Christ's nativity, and at that moment a golden circle

166 If the children represented girls they would have had their heads covered. Both Sir William Monypenny and his son and heir, Alexander, being in the service of the French court would have subscribed to the Franciscan devotion.

167 Isaiah 56.10. Dogs are also symbolic of faith.

168 This miniature is the first of two focussing on the visions of Roman emperors, see also f.525v discussed in the previous chapter: the vision of Constantine.

169 2 Kings 19.15

170 Voragine, 1993, I, 40

appeared around the sun and in the middle a most beautiful Virgin appeared holding a child in her lap. The Sibyl showed this to the emperor and as the emperor marvelled he heard a voice proclaiming, 'this is the altar of Heaven.' The Sibyl thus told the emperor this child was greater and that he must worship him. Thus the room in which they stood was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and was called Santa Maria Ara Coeli. The iconography of the *ara coeli* was a particular favourite of Jean, duc de Berry, who identified with the emperor, and even took to wearing imposing head-ware similar to that seen on the illuminations of Augustus found in his manuscripts.¹⁷¹ This subject appears to have been familiar to the Montluçon atelier. A similar version, for instance, by the same artist, appears on f.32v of *the Grenoble Hours*, (1.30).¹⁷² The illuminations within *the Grenoble Hours*, while of a lower quality than those in the Monypenny Breviary, again frequently feature visionary iconography, although with less persistence than we find in the opening program of the Monypenny Breviary.¹⁷³

That one of the principal themes of the complex program of iconography in the Monypenny Breviary is that of spiritual visions, may be seen in one further miniature, occurring later in the manuscript on f.352r, (1.31). In this instance the deviser of the overall program has selected a passage from the Bible which was not one of the stock-in-trade subjects often used by manuscript illuminators in late-fifteenth century Bourges. The principal image on this folio shows a elderly figure standing by a moated castle, he gestures upwards towards a unicorn-like creature standing on the battlements. The image appears to represent the second vision of Daniel. The lower image illustrates the first vision of Ezekiel, where the word of God came to Ezekiel as, '*.. a great cloud, and a fire infolding it.....and in the midst, thereof the likeness of four living creatures.....a man,...a lion....an ox...and an eagle.*'¹⁷⁴ The text between the two images is taken from the book of Ezekiel and reads '*Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month, when I was in the midst of the captives by the river Chobar, the heavens were opened, and I saw the visions of God. On the fifth day of the month, the same was the fifth year of the captivity of King....*'¹⁷⁵ The main image is an unusual iconographic choice. It illustrates the passage from Daniel

171 Meiss, 1974, 64, 132, 156. Numerous works commissioned by Jean, duc de Berry include the *ara coeli*. See for instance an initial in *The Brussels Hours*, f. 26v; *The Belles Heures*, f. 22r; *The Très Riches Heures*; and a bequest he made in 1407 of a large picture in gold to the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges.

172 The *ara coeli* may be found in other works connected to the Montluçon atelier. See f.142, *The Chappes Hours*, (Paris, BnF, Ars. ms. 438), a manuscript worked on by Jean de Montluçon, the father of Jacqueline. See also the central panel of a seven panelled altarpiece of the *Life of the Virgin* at the Notre Dame, Montluçon also attributed to Jean.

173 *The Grenoble Hours*, f.4v, shows John the Evangelist on Patmos, shielding his eyes from a brilliant vision of the Trinity. On f.19v is an image of Moses witnessing the vision of the burning bush, f.22r show the Annunciation to the shepherds, f.30 shows a vision of the Virgin as described in the Apocalypse, and f.32v shows Augustus, the Tiburtine Sybil, and a vision of the Virgin and child. Lastly f.46v shows Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham and Dives in hell. For the Grenoble ms. See Schaefer. 1996, 303-308.

174 Ezekiel 1.3-28

175 Ezekiel 1.1-3

that reads '*And I lifted up my eyes, and saw: and behold a ram stood before the water, having two high horns, and one higher than the other,.....and behold a he goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and he touched not the ground, and the he goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he went up to the ram that had the horns, which I had seen standing before the gate, and he ran towards him in the force of his strength. And when he had come near the ram, he was enraged against him, and struck the ram: and broke his two horns, and the ram could not withstand him: and when he had cast him down on the ground, he stamped upon him, and none could deliver the ram out of his hand. And the he goat became exceeding great...*'¹⁷⁶ Biblical commentaries interpret the two horned Ram as representing Medo-Persia; its two horns, representing its two kings. The victorious he-goat who crushed the ram so swiftly is interpreted as a prophesy of the coming of Alexander the Great, who conquered with tremendous speed. The he-goat's single horn symbolically represents the single leadership provided by Alexander.¹⁷⁷ Earlier medieval illustrations of this passage tend to focus on the duel between the he-goat and the ram, rather than representing a victorious he-goat post-battle, (1.32). That this image comes directly after the Alexander miniature in the Monypenny Breviary, suggests the deviser of the program intended a connection to Alexander the Great to be made, (1.15). While Alexander is shown in the midst of a great battle on f.339r, the image that follows on f.352r shows the victorious he-goat post-battle, emphasising Alexander's triumph. The unusual iconography in this instance reveals a complex program designed to both emphasise the victorious nature of Alexander Monypenny's namesake, and include an overarching visual and textual exegesis on the issue of 'seeing.'

While visions were, during this period, equated with light, revelation, and spiritual awakening, a lack of sight was equated with darkness, ignorance, and spiritual deficiency.¹⁷⁸ Blindness was thus often considered a moral defect rather than a physical one. Just as the Monypenny Breviary lays great emphasis on enlightenment through vision, it also focusses on the pitfalls of, and cures for, visual impairment.

The first reference to blindness in the Monypenny Breviary is on the opening full-page miniature of the Crucifixion on f.7r, (1.33). In this beautifully executed miniature, Longinus, the

176 Daniel 8.1-22. There are many parallels between the two prophetic visions of Daniel and Ezekiel. Both, for instance, took place near a river, a detail which is included in each miniature.

177 The Book of Daniel notes that the single horn of the he-goat broke, and from this horn grew four smaller horns, representing the events following Alexander the Great's death. At this time there was dissension as to who should be his successor. This ended, as the prophecy foretold, in four of his generals dividing the territory among themselves: Gassander took Greece, Lysimachus took Asia Minor, Selecius took Syria, Ptolemy took Egypt. The bas-de-page image on f. 339r shows Alexander on his deathbed distributing four crowns to his successors. Daniel 8.8-9.

178 Jesus called the Pharisees 'blind leaders of the blind', Matt 15:14, '*Let them alone: they are blind, and leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the pit*' and Luke 6:39, '*Can the blind lead the blind? Do they not both fall into the ditch?*' This metaphor is repeated in John 12:40, 2 Cor 4:4 and Eph 4:18.

figure closest to the foot of the Cross, is depicted holding his spear with his right hand, and pointing to his closed eyes with his left. This illustrates the passage in the Golden Legend that states '*...age and infirmity having left him almost blind, the blood that ran down the shaft of the spear touched his eyes and at once he saw clearly.*'¹⁷⁹ This episode was frequently included in late-medieval Crucifixion scenes to stress the healing nature of Christian belief, and the miraculous properties of Christ's blood. As Longinus is cured from his blindness he realises the enormity of what he has done and converts to Christianity.¹⁸⁰ This reference to blindness which we find at the very beginning of the Breviary is repeated in at least three further illuminations.

On f.136v the main image depicts a scene from the ministry of Christ, and the lower image depicts the sacrifice of Isaac, (1.34). The text reads '*And the Lord said to Abram: Go forth out of your country, and from your kindred, and out of your father's house, and come into the land which I shall show you. And I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and magnify your name, and you shall be blessed.*'¹⁸¹ The overarching theme of the folio may be read as the blessings of a merciful God. In the upper image we see Christ blessing a blind beggar seated beside the road. The beggar is dressed in rags and raises his hands in exclamation. The artist has conveyed his blindness by painting his eyes as closed, and literally depicting them as dim, or grey in colour, to suggest a lack of sight, (1.36). Mark 10.46-52 tells how a man named Bartimaeus was met by Jesus after he left Jericho.¹⁸² According to this account Bartimaeus sat by the road, begging, and when he heard Jesus was approaching he cried out 'Jesus, son of David have mercy on me.' He was rebuked by others but he continued with his plea. Jesus thus stopped and cured him saying 'Go your way. Your faith has made you whole.'¹⁸³ There is more to this image, however, than a faithful illustration of the tale as told by Mark. An examination of the buildings in the background show that although they were intended to evoke Jericho, they also included a contemporary topographical portrait of Jean, duc de Berry's great château, Mehun-sur-Yèvre, (1.5).¹⁸⁴ The inclusion of this building is interesting. It suggests an appreciation and acknowledgement of the patronage of the Monypenny's

179 Voragine, 1993, I, 184.

180 This was a motif frequently taken up in medieval passion plays such as '*Resurrection du Saviour*', probably written in Normandy in the twelfth century. Here Longinus haggles over the money he is to receive for piercing Christ's side. Following his subsequent cure from blindness there is a spirited dialogue between Pilate and the soldier who recounts this miracle. *La Résurrection du Saviour: fragment d'un mystère inédit*, 1834, 13.

181 Genesis 12.1

182 Mark 10:46-52. Matthew 20:29-34, gives a similar account of two blind men being healed outside Jericho but provides no names. Luke 18:35-43, also tells of two unnamed blind men, but places the events on Christ's approach to Jericho. Jesus previously healed a blind man in Bethsaida by spitting on his eyes and laying his hands on him in Mark 8:22-26.

183 Mark 10:52. The name Bartimaeus is interesting as it may refer to Plato's Thimaeus who delivered Plato's important cosmological and theological treatise involving sight as the foundation of knowledge. Tolbert, 1996, 189.

184 This identification was first made by Monsieur Camille Enlart, mediaeval archaeologist and director of the Musée de Sculpture Comparée, Paris. Put, 1922, 102, n.2.

predecessor, Jean, duc de Berry. It also suggests the continued appreciation and fame of the château that Froissart described as 'one of the handsomest castles in the world,' and furthermore it suggests a similar reading of the topographical portrait in the *Très Riches Heures*.¹⁸⁵ There, Mehun-sur-Yèvre was included in an image of the Temptation of Christ, to evoke all the riches of the world. It typified a vision of splendour, opulence, and wealth, and was presented as the greatest prize with which the devil could tempt Christ. The inclusion of this building in a scene of Christ healing the blind beggar, may have served several functions. It epitomises the splendour of the visual world, and thus highlights the beggar's condition, but also acts as a warning of the 'lust of the eyes,' a condition that might lead to irreligious fascination with temporal *visibilia*. The inclusion of the château pays homage to a great architectural masterpiece, yet it may also be a warning against the visual intoxication of beautiful things.¹⁸⁶

Visual impairment, both corporeal and spiritual, is also referenced on f.156v. Here the main image shows Jacob receiving the blessing of Isaac, below which is an image of Esau on horseback pursuing a stag, (1.35). The text reads '*Now Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim, and he could not see: and he called Esau, his elder son, and said to him: My son? And he answered: Here I am. And his father said to him, You see that I am old, and know not the day of my death.....*'¹⁸⁷ In the main image, Jacob deceives his blind father, Isaac, by pretending to be his elder brother, Esau. Jacob came to his father bearing the meat Isaac had requested of Esau. He wore Esau's robes, and wrapped his skin in animal hides to mimic the hairiness of his brother.¹⁸⁸ Thus Jacob tricked his father into bestowing a blessing upon him, rather than his elder brother. The themes here of inheritance and sibling rivalry may have held some relevance to the Monypenny brothers, however the central theme is certainly that of the dangers inherent within a lack of sight: dangers of deception and poor judgement. The artist to convey a lack of sight, again, has painted Isaac's eyes as dull and grey, (1.36). When Christ proclaimed 'I am the light of the world,' he spoke in the context of his ability to restore sight.¹⁸⁹ The portrayal of blindness therefore required the artist to convey a lack of light, implying a lack of knowledge and of God's guidance. Isaac's eyes are dim, and as a result he has been deceived, in a sense his intellect has been held captive by the darkness.

The Breviary also stresses the remedy for spiritual blindness. As we have already seen, the manuscript repeatedly highlights the need to open your eyes and 'see' through metaphors of celestial

185 See note 99.

186 This type of visual intoxication was often suggested in images of King David watching Bathsheba bathing. A scene which highlights corporeal vision and is often contrasted with spiritual vision in a didactic message concerning the correct direction for one's sight, e.g. sight providing equally possibilities for sin, as it does for salvation.

187 Genesis 27.1-3.

188 Jacob's mother Rebekah can be seen retrieving Esau's robes in the background of the image.

189 John 9.5.

visions. It illustrates Christ as the miraculous giver of sight and it stresses the journey and process by which one can gain or restore sight. This is best exemplified in the story of Tobit and Tobias, illustrated on f.330r, (1.37). The upper image shows Tobit on the streets of Nineveh lifting the corpse of a citizen wrongly put to death.¹⁹⁰ The lower image shows his son Tobias carrying a large fish, accompanied by a dog and the Archangel Raphael.¹⁹¹ The text follows the opening lines of the Book of Tobit. Tobit was renowned for his diligent attempts to provide proper burials for fallen Israelites who had been slain by Sennacherib. For this Tobit was exiled from Nineveh. However following Sennacherib's death, Tobit returned and again buried a man who had been murdered on the street. That night, Tobit slept in the open and was blinded by bird droppings that fell into his eyes. Just as Job was tested by God to see if his faith was strong enough to withstand great misfortune, Tobit's sight was taken, as a trial of his patience.

The lower image shows Tobit's son, Tobias who was sent by his father to collect a sum of money his father had left in Medea. Tobias was accompanied on his journey by the Archangel Raphael and his dog. On route he was attacked by a giant fish, whose heart, liver, and gallbladder were kept in order to make medicines. On Tobias' return to Nineveh, Raphael instructed him to use the fish's gallbladder to cure his father's blindness thus justifying Tobit's unswerving faith in God and rewarding his patience.¹⁹²

The Monypenny Breviary's repeated focus on the metaphorical battle of light versus darkness, and sight versus blindness, must be read within the circumstances of its patronage. It contains a complex program of iconography that, if not devised by Abbot William Monypenny himself, would certainly have been approved by him. As already mentioned, it is tempting to read this repetition as a message, perhaps devised by the Abbot in order to instruct his worldly brother Alexander, a courtier at the French court, in the necessities of spiritual vision, and as a warning against turning a blind eye towards matters of the Church. If such a reading is correct, it may be supposed this message had some effect, as from the sparse details of Alexander Monypenny's career we know his judgement was considered sound enough for him to be appointed to the position of Captain of Justice in Milan c.1510, and one of his primary concerns during this period was to outlaw blasphemous and sacrilegious behaviour. Furthermore, this manuscript was commissioned

¹⁹⁰ Tobit 1.20-22.

¹⁹¹ Tobit 5.5-6.22.

¹⁹² 'And immediately anoint his eyes with this gall of the fish, which you carry with you. For be assured that his eyes shall be presently opened, and your father shall see the light of heaven, and shall rejoice in the sight of you.' Tobit 11.8. 'Then Tobias taking of the gall of the fish, anointed his father's eyes. And he stayed about half an hour and a white skin began to come out of his eyes, like the skin of an egg. And Tobias took hold of it, and drew it from his eyes, and recovered his sight. And they glorified God, both he and his wife and all that knew him.' Tobit 11.13-16. The iconography of Tobias and the Angel is also found in the *Hours of Louis d'Orléans* f. 40r, Ms. Lat Q.vI 126, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg, 1490.

during a difficult and tumultuous period in the Abbot's own career, a period that must have tried his own faith and patience to its limits.

*'....spare me, for my days are nothing.....How long will you not spare me,....Why do you not remove my sin, and why do you not take away my iniquity? Behold now I shall sleep in the dust: and if you seek me in the morning, I shall not be.'*¹⁹³

The last fully illuminated page of the Monypenny Breviary is f.801r, (1.38). The upper miniature shows an image of the pope, followed by an emperor, a king, and a glimpse of a fourth figure, all lining up to meet a grinning, skeletal, personification of death. Death gestures towards the pope with his left hand and grasps a spear with his right. He is depicted standing before a grisly scene of decomposing bodies dangling from gallows. The scene is set in a beautifully painted, lush green landscape, and positioned outside a late-medieval walled French town. A line of text on the upper framing lintel reads, 'All those who are and will be, by these deadly steps shall pass', a reminder that death cannot be avoided whatever your station in life.¹⁹⁴ The unusual iconographic inclusion of the gallows suggests that the step referred to is the transition from the finely dressed figures Death greets, to the rotting corpses behind. Visually this step is emphasised by the ladder, leaning on the gallows, situated between the two parties.¹⁹⁵

The banner of text that accompanies the image is taken from the Book of Job, and emphasises Man's suffering. It does not present an uplifting promise of rewards for the faithful, it is instead a rather bleak lament for the stricken. The lower miniature is an image of purgatory, with figures lying by a river bank, being devoured by reptiles. The iconography stems from Dante's description of the punishment of thieves, hinging on the analogy that just as thieves took away the property of others, so they themselves were condemned to being taken over by serpents.¹⁹⁶ Other figures are imprisoned in burning rocks, while some are depicted floating in a river, with several virtuous souls, having fulfilled their penance, born heavenwards by angels. The Catholic Church taught that the fate of those in purgatory could be affected by the actions of the living. Therefore prayers for the dead and indulgences were considered all-important and were popularly seen as a means of decreasing the duration of time the dead spend in purgatory. Indeed in relation to this view, it has been commented that 'Catholicism at the end of the Middle Ages was in large part a cult

193 Job 7: 16-21

194 'TOVS CHIEVS QVI SOT ET SEROT PAR SET PAS MORTEL PASSERONT'

195 Ladders occur elsewhere within the Monypenny Breviary: two on f. 145r; f. 523r; f.590v.

196 Dante. *Divine Comedy*, Inferno, circle viii, bolgia vii, (Cantos xxiv &xxv), the thieves.

of the living in the service of the dead.¹⁹⁷ Abuses connected with the granting of indulgences for money were one of the key offences that lead to the Catholic Church falling into such disrepute around the time that this manuscript was produced.

The iconography of the upper miniature follows that of popular medieval depictions of the danse macabre, that chilling portrayal of the universality of death, which sees different ranks of humanity invited to dance to the grave with a grinning personification of death.¹⁹⁸ The images typically begin with a pope, an emperor, and a king. However, there is more to f.801r than a generic *memento mori* or meditation on death. The pope in the upper image is not a generic image of a pope. Careful comparisons suggest that it represents the pope who was later known as the most infamous pope of the late-Middle Ages: Alexander VI, (1.39).¹⁹⁹ This identification is important as it dates the Monypenny Breviary to after Alexander VI's election in 1492, thus narrowing the dates for the production of this manuscript to most likely between 1492-5.²⁰⁰ The inclusion of a portrait of Alexander VI raises a number of issues. Firstly it suggests that a member of the Monypenny family may have visited Rome, or had access to such an image by other means, and that they requested that it be reproduced in the Breviary. Secondly it suggests that this final image may have held a more meaningful association for the family than merely a meditation on the inevitability of one's demise. The Breviary begins with a meditation of the art of dying, and perhaps particularly on the virtuous death of Sir William Monypenny the elder, suggesting that commemorating their father was one of the primary objectives of the manuscript. The image of purgatory on this final page may have acted as a reminder to keep their late father and other ancestors constantly in their prayers.

By dating the manuscript to after Alexander VI's election in 1492 we may surmise that the commission was undertaken, during the time of, or soon after, Abbot Monypenny's first failed attempt at claiming the seat of archbishop of Bourges. By paying homage to the newly elected pope within the Breviary, Abbot Monypenny was pledging visual allegiance to the head of the Catholic Church, perhaps in the hope that by fostering this relationship his prospects of achieving the position of archbishop might be more successful in future.²⁰¹

197 Galpern, 1974, 149.

198 The iconography of the dance macabre, was first portrayed around the cloisters of the cemetery of Les Innocents in Paris in 1424-5 and was quickly taken up by printers and wall-painters. Although often each figure was shown meeting death in a separate niche, some manuscripts, in a similar arrangement to Monypenny Breviary, present all the figures in one scene, i.e. Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1072, f.194, c.1495; Paris, BnF, ms. lat 1382, f.74, c.1480-5.

199 The contemporary politician and political theorist Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* in 1513, in which he refers to Alexander VI as a corrupt politician completely without honour, 'Alexander VI did nothing but deceive men.' Machiavelli, 1975, XVIII. See also: Ferrara, 1942; Burchard 1963; Duffy, 2002.

200 Between 1492, when Alexander VI was elected pope, and 1495, when Alexander's son Charles was killed in battle. This manuscript would have taken a great deal of time to complete and it is possible that it was not completed until some years after this. This dating of the manuscript differs to those given previously. De Hamel and Reynaud suggest 1485-90. *Three Supremely Important Illuminated Manuscripts from a Distinguished Private Collection*. (London: Sotheby's: Thursday 6 July 2000), 29; Avril, & Reynaud, 1998, 340.

201 This juxtaposition of imagery in hindsight is ironic given Alexander VI's later reputation as one of the most corrupt

This dating allows for a more precise reading of certain iconographic details in the manuscript in relation to contemporary political events. Mildly aggressive pairs of porcupine appear both on f.97r and f.136v, (1.34 & 1.40). The inclusion of the emblem of the porcupine is a clear expression of sympathies with the house of Orléans in general, and given the dating, Louis, duc d'Orléans in particular. Louis, duc d'Orléans inherited the emblem of the porcupine from his grandfather, who had initially introduced it in 1394, with his foundation of the chivalric *Order of the Porcupine*.²⁰² The emblem of the porcupine appears to have captured Louis' imagination, as he employed it extensively after his accession to the throne throughout the whole spectrum of media available for visual display. His particular attachment to the porcupine, rather than to any of the other emblems from his panoply of devises, appears to rest on the combative aspect of the creature, an aspect emphasised in its accompanying motto '*Cominus et eminus*'.²⁰³ Louis appears to have utilised this aspect of the devise, from a relatively early stage in his career, in order to stress his determination to exercise his claims in Italy over the duchy of Milan.²⁰⁴ That Louis used the emblem in this way, before his accession to the throne, may be seen in a seal dating to 1486, where we find a knight brandishing a sword, charging on a horse bearing a heraldic caparison, with an aggressive porcupine perched on the horses rump. The caparison of the horse bears the arms of Orléans and Milan, while the legend identifies the seal as that of Louis, duc d'Orléans, (1.41). The seal testifies to Louis' use of the porcupine while still a duke, in relation to his expansionist ambitions. The inclusion of the porcupines in the Monypenny Breviary suggests the Monypenny family supported Louis and also his Italian ambitions.

Further evidence found throughout the manuscript reinforces the reading of this work as an expression of the Orléanist sympathies held by the Monypenny family. The capital letters used in the text banners separating the illuminations are, almost entirely, formed from joined pieces of knotted sticks or batons, a long-standing emblem for the house of Orléans. See for instance f.24v where the emblem is employed between illuminations directly referring to the Monypenny family, (1.28).²⁰⁵ Furthermore, a number of the miniatures contain figures brandishing prominent knotted

popes of the time, a reputation earned by abuses such as selling indulgences. Alexander VI was, however, an ally of France at this time and it is unlikely that a devotee of the Catholic Church such as Abbot Monypenny would have been aware of, or sought to draw attention to, such abuses at this time.

202 Hochner, 2001, 15, 17-36.

203 '*In close or distant combat*'. The porcupine's significance was drawn from Greco-Roman natural histories. It was used to symbolise both the offensive and defensive skills of the bearer, as it was thought that it could shoot its quills at its enemies. This capability was summed up in the motto originally used by the *Ordre du porc-épic et du camail*.

204 Louis' claim to Milan stemmed from his paternal grandmother, Valentina Visconti.

205 *Bâtons noueux* – Louis, duc d'Orléans' grandfather adopted the emblem of the gnarled stick, in conjunction with the motto *Je l'envie* ('I challenge him'), an emblem that was countered by his great rival and cousin, John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, who adopted the emblem of a wood-plane throwing chips of wood suggesting his smoothing of the Orléanist knotted stick. See Hutchison, 2007, 250-74.

sticks or feature framing-figures bearing this emblem.²⁰⁶ That these Orléanist sympathies may have related directly to Louis' Italian ambitions, and his Visconti heritage, may be suggested by the Visconti hunting leopards found on f.18r. A detail that read in conjunction with the porcupine draws a direct reference to Louis' genealogy. This iconography is included on a folio that deals directly with royal inheritance, in its depiction of King David on his deathbed, and is accompanied by Isaiah's famous genealogical text on the Tree of Jesse, thus supporting this reading of the leopards' significance, (1.26).

There is, furthermore, evidence to suggest that this political stance may have influenced the Monypenny's decision to employ artists from the Montluçon atelier. Records show that Jacquelin de Montluçon, while active in Tours in 1483, was employed in painting a shield for the duc d'Orléans.²⁰⁷ Such evidence gives a convincing reason as to why a family sympathetic to the Orléanist cause might choose this particular atelier for this expensive project.

By looking at the political events involving Louis, duc d'Orléans in the 1480-90s it is possible to gain further insight into the Monypenny family's political affiliations. Between 1485 and 1488, Louis, duc d'Orléans and a coalition of feudal lords, were involved in an out-right revolt against the French monarchy.²⁰⁸ The dispute, later coined *La Guerre folle*, saw Louis, supported by Francis II of Brittany and others, attempt to depose the regent, Anne de Beaujeu. From the outset of Charles VIII's minority, Louis had attempted to seize the regency. In 1484 he travelled to Brittany and sent a request to the pope to annul his marriage to Jeanne of France, so that he would be free to marry Anne of Brittany, Francis II's daughter.²⁰⁹ In due course Louis was imprisoned and forced to sign a truce known as the *Peace of Bourges* on 2 November, 1485. Yet rebellion erupted again and in January 1487 Louis sought refuge in Brittany. The rebellion culminated in the decisive defeat of Louis and the Breton forces at the Battle of Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier on the 28 July, 1488. Following this defeat Louis was imprisoned and Francis II was forced to accept a treaty which greatly diminished his power.²¹⁰ Treated as a rebel and a traitor, Louis was imprisoned for three years. Initially sent to Lusignan in Poitou, Louis was subsequently transferred to Mehun-sur-Yèvre, before finally being sent to the Great Tower of Bourges in July 1489.²¹¹ The early part of Louis'

206 The knotted stick is found in the calendar, as well as in the majority of illuminated capital letters within the full page miniatures. Additional knotted staffs are found held by Isaac, f.156v; held by a figure behind the cross, f.470r; two smoother staffs are present, f.525v; held by Joachim, f.647v, and held by the two figures of elders in niches; held by a foreground figure, f.664v; held by a figure, f.713r, and prominently held by James the Less, f.766r.

207 Ulysse, 1880-1, II. 304.

208 This occurred during the regency of Anne de Beaujeu before the majority of King Charles VIII in 1491.

209 On 8 September, 1476, Louis married the pious Jeanne de France for political reasons. This was not a happy match and Louis spent a number of years attempting to have the marriage annulled. The annulment was eventually granted in 1498 and has been described as 'one of the seamiest lawsuits of the age'. Baumgartner, 1994, 71-7.

210 Francis II died on September 9, 1488, leaving Anne as his heir. Anne of Brittany married Charles VIII in December 1491.

211 The Great Tower of Bourges was the most secure prison in France at this time. *Libro de Horas de Luis de Orleans*,

imprisonment was particularly brutal. It was alleged that in response to Louis' complaints about his diet he was told he could eat the rats and spiders in his cell.²¹² Conditions improved following his transfer to Bourges, where he was placed under the watchful eye of the Scots Archers, commanded by Patrick MacLellan.²¹³ During this period he was allowed visits from his devoted wife, Jeanne of France, and he benefited from improved communication with his supporters on the outside. He is said to have dedicated his time in the Great Tower of Bourges to reading; having requested, for instance, the *Chroniques de France*, Froissart's *Chronicle of the Hundred Years War*, *The Golden Legend*, and Boethius's, *Consolation of Philosophy*.²¹⁴ It has also been suggested that Louis may have commissioned, or received as a gift, an illuminated Book of Hours, during this period of his imprisonment.²¹⁵ When in June 1491, Jeanne of France and Louis' supporters finally persuaded Charles VIII to grant his release, the king sent his loyal servant and the subject of the following chapter, Bérault Stuart, to liberate the duke. It is of great interest that during Louis' time as a captive in Bourges his sympathisers appear to have taken the opportunity to show their support by providing him with instructive reading matter, perhaps via the intermediary of his physician, Salomon de Bombelles, or his confessor.²¹⁶ As important members of Bourges society at this time, the Monypenny family may well have sought to express their support for Louis. Evidence of their careers after this episode supports this assertion. Abbot Monypenny was denied his seat as archbishop, due to Charles VIII favouring another party, perhaps one demonstrating greater loyalty, and following Louis' accession to the throne, Alexander Monypenny appears to have forged a very successful career as an important courtier for the new king.²¹⁷

Visual evidence in the Monypenny Breviary corroborates the assertion that Louis' imprisonment in Bourges was of considerable importance to the Monypenny family. Folio 97r, as we have already examined, shows Louis' emblem of the porcupine illustrated in connection with an image of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, one of the sites of Louis imprisonment prior to the Great Tower of Bourges, (1.34). Whilst on one hand, the image of Mehun-sur-Yèvre may serve to exemplify visual opulence, on the other, read in conjunction with the themes of faith and sacrifice, it may serve as a reminder of Louis' very recent plight.²¹⁸ Another folio which emphasises these contemporary events

2002, I, 55; Schaefer, Claude. 1982, 240.

212 Baumgartner, 1994, 34.

213 Not only were the Scots stationed in the interior of the tower, but they also occupied the neighbouring houses. Michel, 1862, I, 285; Gordon 1919, 39.

214 This last text was a translation made by his father, during his own captivity. Baumgartner, 1994, 35.

215 Ms. Lat Q.vI 126, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg, 1490. *Libro de Horas de Luis de Orleans*, 2002, 2 vols; Schaefer, 1982, 240-1.

216 Salomon de Bombelles accompanied Louis throughout his entire imprisonment. Later he testified at the trial surrounding Louis divorce from Jeanne. Wickersheimer, 1979, 728; Schaefer, 1982, 240.

217 Whether Abbot Monypenny was denied this post due to his political support for Louis, duc d'Orléans is not stated.

218 Faith is illustrated by the story of the blind beggar, and sacrifice by the bas-de-page image of the sacrifice of Isaac.

may be seen on f.736v, (1.42). In the Monypenny Breviary the full service for St Barbara follows that of St Satyrus. While reasons behind the emphasis given to St Satyrus are immediately obvious, those behind the emphasis on St Barbara are less clear. That the miniature bears the arms of Sir William Monypenny the elder's wife, Katherine, suggests that the saint held particular relevance to Alexander and Abbot Monypenny's mother. In the absence of any evidence that the saint is included as a namesake, it seems likely that she is included as the patron saint of prisoners.²¹⁹ Katherine Monypenny would have had good reason to particularly revere this saint, given that Sir William Monypenny was twice imprisoned during his career: once by the Abbot of Whitby in 1450, and again by the Bretons in 1468.²²⁰ Beyond this family relevance, the inclusion of St Barbara must also have brought to mind the recent imprisonment of Louis. In the upper miniature of f.736, Saint Barbara is shown being lead from her prison to her execution. The large tower in which she was held seems likely to have brought to mind the Great Tower of Bourges, emphasising the connection to Louis, duc d'Orléans. Indeed in the Book of Hours supposedly produced for Louis during his imprisonment just a couple of years earlier, scholars have identified a number of visual and textual references to Louis' plight. These references include a miniature of *Susanna and the Elders*, identified as containing a representation of the Great Tower of Bourges, (1.43).²²¹ Furthermore, the illumination contains similar versions of the Orléanist knotted stick to those that appear in the Monypenny Breviary.²²² This tendency to include biographical references to a patron's imprisonment in manuscripts has a precedent, for instance, in a series of illuminations produced for René d'Anjou in the early 1440s. In this instance an artist, probably Barthélemy d'Eyck, produced five additional miniatures which were added to René's Book of Hours and which related very precisely to René's unhappy situation as a prisoner in Dijon.²²³ A comparison between the 'portrait' of the Great Tower of Bourges in Louis duc d'Orléans' Book of Hours and the tower in the St Barbara miniature of the Monypenny Breviary supports the suggestion that this image was intended to evoke Louis' imprisonment. The bas-de-page image on this folio shows an unusual story told in the Golden Legend, whereby St Barbara, through her prayers, was miraculously transported from her tower to a mountain gorge where two shepherds were watching their flocks. Her father instructed his soldiers to find her, and we see here the moment when the second shepherd betrays the saint by revealing her hiding place and is immediately turned to stone, while his flock of sheep

219 I can find no members of the Monypenny family called Barbara.

220 It is unclear if Katherine Monypenny and their children may also have been imprisoned for a time in this second instance. See notes 20, 41 & 42.

221 Schaefer suggests the involvement of the Montluçon atelier in this work. The connection therefore between this manuscript and the Monypenny Breviary may be close. Schaefer, 1982, 240-1.

222 Compare, for instance, the knotted stick found within the border of 1.43 and within 1.44.

223 The Hours of René of Anjou, London, BL, MS. Egerton 1070, contains five additional miniatures (fols 4v, 5r, 53r, 110r and 139r). Avril, & Reynaud, 1998, no. 122.

are turned into locusts.²²⁴ St Barbara is shown praying enclosed in a cave again emphasising her imprisonment. The inclusion of this unusual episode suggests that the deviser of the decorative program for this manuscript had access to a copy of the Golden Legend containing the life of Saint Barbara. It is intriguing to consider whether this iconography derived from the work that we know Louis requested, during his time spent in the Great Tower of Bourges.

There is one further piece of iconographic evidence that suggests that the Monypenny Breviary held contemporary political references for its original audience. Several folios after the occurrence of porcupines, as supporting beasts in the architecture of the miniatures, are a pair of genets, (1.44).²²⁵ The genet or genetie, was used extensively in fifteenth-century French iconography, as an emblem for a number of princesses called Jeanne.²²⁶ It was used frequently in the margins of manuscripts, on a seal, and in stained glass, produced in connection with Jeanne of France, Duchess of Bourbon, (1432-1482), the daughter of Charles VII.²²⁷ In this context, an interesting drawing of the Duchess of Bourbon's devise was made by Jean Robertet in 1468, (1.45).²²⁸ The similarity of the genet within both works is clear. While the use of the genet has been extensively researched in the patronage of Jeanne of France, Duchess of Bourbon, little work has been done on the use of this devise by Louis, duc d'Orléans' wife, Jeanne of France, duchesse d'Orléans, (1464 – 1505), undoubtedly the figure represented by this devise in the Monypenny Breviary.²²⁹ It is clear that the duchess did use the genet during her marriage to Louis, duc d'Orléans, as two genets are represented as supporting beasts on her seal of 1489 (1.46). The Monypenny Breviary, however, is unique as surviving visual evidence illustrating the genet and the porcupine to refer to Louis and his first wife Jeanne.²³⁰ Other motifs within the Breviary that relate to Jeanne occur on f.37r, where we find marginal decoration of pairs of wings joined by a knotted cordelière and displayed in conjunction with rosary beads, (1.29). This device relates to the house of Bourbon, it was inherited by Jeanne from her father Louis XI, and emphasises the family's Franciscan

224 William Caxton added the life of Saint Barbara to his edition of the Golden Legend, (c.1483), but it was not part of Voragine's 13th C. original.

225 Genets are related to cats. They have distinctive spotted coats, long banded tails, small heads, and relatively large ears. They are native to Africa, although it is not known when they first arrived in Europe.

226 The devise stems from the play on words: Jeanette (the nickname of Jeanne) and genetie, (often written as 'janette' in inventories of menageries). The devise often also included a flower termed a janette, often referred to as *Campion* in English.

227 See Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1847, f.1, various folios within Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB 74 G 22, the seal of Jeanne de France of 1474, and the stained glass of the *Chapelle Neuve* at the church of Souvigny. Mézan-Muxart, 2010, 104-125.

228 Paris, BnF ms. fr. 227; Avril, & Reynaud, 1998, 153.

229 The use of the genet by Jeanne de France, duchess of Bourbon and by her niece Jeanne, (an illegitimate daughter of Louis XI), is discussed by Mézan-Muxart, 2010, 104-125. A brief mention is made of the genet in connection to Jeanne de France, duchesse d'Berry noting that her use of this devise has yet to be explored.

230 I have yet to find any other instances of the dual use of these mottos, referring to Jeanne and Louis during their marriage from 1476-1498.

sympathies.²³¹

In 1476 at the age of twelve, Jeanne was married, for political reasons, to Louis duc d'Orléans.²³² Jeanne suffered from a number of deformities from birth, however she grew into an intelligent and pious woman, whose complete devotion to her husband undoubtedly greatly helped him during his imprisonment.²³³ Following his release in 1491, Louis pledged his loyalty to Charles VIII and was as result awarded the governorship of Normandy and had his properties restored, a sign of Charles' faith in him. When, however, Louis came unexpectedly to power, following the death of Charles VIII in 1498, one of Louis' first acts was to instigate the annulment his marriage to Jeanne, so that he might be free to wed his predecessors widow, Ann of Brittany. Louis did not have a strong case for this annulment, and it was said that if Pope Alexander VI had not been committed to granting the annulment for political purposes, he would have lost. The marriage was annulled on 15 December 1498. Understandably outraged, Jeanne, reluctantly stepped aside. She was subsequently made duchess of Berry and retired to Bourges.²³⁴

At approximately the time that the Monypenny Breviary was commissioned, Louis had been released from prison for perhaps a year and was still at this stage married to Jeanne.²³⁵ His intentions to annul his marriage may, however, have been well known, as he had first sent a request to the pope to this effect as early as 1484. In this context, the inclusion of Louis' emblem of the porcupine on f.97, displayed in conjunction with the Marriage at Cana, may be read as a comment on these events, (1.40). The Marriage of Cana was frequently interpreted as evidence of the divine sanction of the sacrament of marriage. Christ's presence at the wedding, and the miracle of turning water into wine, in order to save the celebration, were taken as evidence of his approval of the earthly celebration of marriage. The juxtaposition of these two elements may be interpreted as a wish to stress the sanctity of marriage, in the context of Louis' wish to declare his own marriage void. This viewpoint may have been held by an ecclesiastic such as Abbot William Monypenny.

The context for the inclusion of the genets on f.165r must also be considered, (1.44). The two genets are depicted accompanying the scenes of Joseph being sold by his brothers to the

231 This device was later employed by Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I. The development of the Franciscan cult in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries motivated many aristocratic families to choose the cordelière as an emblem to symbolise their devotion to Saint Francis. The use of the wings motif was employed most frequently by Louis XI in the form of the cerf-volant. The combination of the genet with wings was employed by Jeanne of France's half-sister, Jeanne of Valois, (d.1519) and can be seen on a tapestry illustrated within Mézan-Muxart, 2010, 110.

232 Louis XI is usually attributed a rather sinister motive for arranging the match. As Jeanne was thought to have been unlikely to be able to provide an heir, by marrying her to the Orléanist heir the king would extinguish the the house of Orléans and unite its lands to the Crown.

233 Baumgartner, 1994, 7.

234 She died on 4 February, 1505. Soon after her death, miracles and healings attributed to her were said to have occurred. On 28 May, 1950, she was canonized. She is known to Roman Catholics as *Sainte Jeanne de Valois*.

235 The identification of the genets as the emblem of Jeanne, duchess of Orléans confirms that the Monypenny Breviary was executed before 1498, when their marriage was annulled.

Ishmaelites, and of Reuben returning to the well to find him missing.²³⁶ The selling of Joseph was often portrayed as the Old Testament prefiguration of Judas' betrayal of Christ. The key element it stressed was the selling and betrayal of a virtuous person by those of lesser virtue. The choice to use this scene in relation to the emblem of Jeanne, duchess of Orléans, perhaps suggests something of her own 'sale' at the age of twelve and her fathers politically motivated betrothal of his daughter to Louis. Seen in these terms it stresses the innocence and virtue of Jeanne, at the mercy of her corrupt relatives.

The iconographic evidence in the Monypenny Breviary relates specifically to the political affiliations of the the Monypenny family, and precisely to a tumultuous period in French history. The deviser of the manuscript's iconographic program has included devices that would have been instantly recognisable to the manuscripts artists, patrons, and wider audience. The inclusion of emblems relating to the Orléanist cause clearly indicates the Monypenny family's political affiliations. The complex integration of these symbols into the biblical program of the manuscript suggests a great deal of thought went into the visual choreography. It also suggests an expectation that some degree of thought would go into the 'reading' of the manuscript, and the assumption that the Monypenny family would ponder the juxtapositions of images and devices. The choice of subjects reflects the most important events that occurred in Bourges at this time, namely the imprisonment of Louis in the Great Tower, and the assistance of his wife, Jeanne, in securing his release. It also reflects political and ecclesiastical concerns out with Bourges, by indicating the Monypennys' support of Louis' Italian ambitions, and by recognising the authority of the new pope, Alexander VI. In this respect it reflects the important and influential positions held by Abbot William Monypenny and his brother Alexander, both at the French court and in the upper echelons of Bourges society.

²³⁶ The iconography of Joseph being sold by his brothers is also found in St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, *Hours of Louis d'Orléans*, f.20r, Ms. Lat Q.vi 126,1490. The quality of the Monypenny image is however far superior.

*'Saint Barnabas showed to us herein that we ought leave the things that men should not put thereon their desire ne their heart, and taught us to despise gold and silver; by that that he laid the silver at the feet of the apostles.'*²³⁷

The small text image of St Barnabas on f.544r illustrates this episode of the life of the saint as told within the Golden Legend, (1.47). The artist stresses the disdain with which the saint treats the wealth that he has obtained. The message to the reader is to expurge any devotion to worldly fortune. Herein is a paradox in the Monypenny Breviary: one of its central messages is to forsake wealth, yet the cost of such a work must have been vast. This dichotomy was resolved by a clause that suggested that to employ one's wealth in the service of God and the Church was a great virtue and the only proper application for worldly riches.

This view of money and wealth is highlighted throughout the Breviary. The bas-de-page image on f.24v, as we have already discussed, visually opposes the male figure praying to God and his wife staring at a chest of gold, (1.28). The viewer is encouraged to consider the good and the bad uses of money, and the error implicit in worshipping prosperity. The message of the lower image is reinforced by the exemplary piety illustrated in the main image, where an elderly devout figure, most likely Sir William Monypenny the elder, prays to a vision of the Man-of-Sorrows, while dressed in the plain, ragged robes of a follower of the Franciscan rite. He is shown embodying the central Franciscan themes of humility, poverty, and simplicity. Furthermore, the corrupt use of money is highlighted in the prominence it is given in the miniature of Joseph being sold by his brothers in f.165r, (1.44).²³⁸

Central to examining the Breviary's moralizing lessons on wealth are the images found on f.324r, accompanying the opening lines from the book of Job, (1.48). The main image shows Job and his wife, seated in a grand, marble-panelled, colonnaded interior. Job's possessions are exemplified by the depiction of his three thousand camels and five hundred she-asses crowding around the open window.²³⁹ He is accompanied by his seven sons and three daughters.²⁴⁰ Job's

237 Saint Barnabas, The Golden Legend. I have used William Caxton's translation for this quote. Voragine, 1900, III, 215.

238 Bearing in mind that money is not shown at all within a number of other contemporary examples of illuminations of this story, e.g. St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, *Hours of Louis d'Orléans* Ms. Lat Q.v I 126, f. 20r, 1490.

239 Job 1.3. He is also recorded as owning seven thousand sheep and five hundred yoke of oxen.

240 Job 1.2. The artist of this miniature has however indicted more children than this.

wealth and prosperity are indicted by the fine setting, his expensive, brocaded, and fur-trimmed robes, and the vast money-pouch that hangs from a rope around his waist. A cornucopia on the supporting architecture echoes the themes of abundance and opulence.²⁴¹ The lower image sits in stark contrast, showing Job stripped of his wealth and belongings. His fine robes are replaced by a loincloth, his opulent palace, by a ruin behind him, and his humiliation is enhanced by his lonely situation on a dung-heap, where he is beaten by two demons.²⁴² Yet Job endures his descent into abject poverty without reproaching divine providence and is quoted as saying '*Naked I came out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: Lord has given, and Lord has taken away.*'²⁴³ He is shown as a paragon of virtue in his acceptance of God's will and the calm way in which he forsakes the material world.

The central theme is twofold; it advocates the acceptance of God's will and the necessity of abandoning one's wealth in order to get closer to God. A careful observation of the upper image supports this reading. In a short passage in Matthew, God is quoted as saying, '*It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.*'²⁴⁴ While a cursory glance at the upper image may just show Job, his family, and his possessions, a closer examination shows that the artist has intentionally included a rebus on this saying. The arched window at the far end of the hall is literally formed in the shape of the eye of a needle, and through it we see Job's camels. It is unlikely that such a pictorial construction is coincidental. Instead it suggests a clever pictorial expression of the central point of the illumination: that wealth is likely to hinder one's salvation.²⁴⁵

When Gregory the Great wrote his moralising commentary on the Book of Job, he advocated a literal, allegorical, and moral meditation on the text. He suggested the reader could gain an indication from it of how God would like them to conduct their own lives. It is tempting to suppose that Abbot William Monypenny may also have seen the Book of Job in this way, and sought to highlight the moral themes discussed above.²⁴⁶ We know that Alexander Monypenny

241 In the Middle Ages Job was often portrayed as a patron of music. According to the account of the life of Job given in the apocryphal *Testamentum in Job*, Job removed the boils from his body and as soon as they left his hands they turned into gold coins, which he gave to a group of musicians. This episode is depicted in a painting in Cologne, *The Altar of Saint Job* by the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, 1480-3. This may go some way to explaining the presence of musical wild-men/women as supporting figures for Job in the Monypenny manuscript. Within this account of Job's life it is also mentioned that Job sang and played instruments to cheer up his servants. Later he is recorded as having given his daughters musical instruments as gifts. See Meyer, 1954, 21-31.

242 Job 2.8.

243 Job 1.21.

244 Matthew 19.24.

245 A precedent for including the playful expression of sayings through images is found in the calendar illuminations of the *Hours of Charles d'Angoulême* from the early 1480s. Here the artist, Robinet Testard, employed humorous imagery derived from prints, no doubt equally for the amusement and the moral edification of the patron. The patron was expected to carefully ponder the imagery to extract the moral lesson. See Tolley, in Wood, 2007, 144.

246 As a graduate of canon law at the University of Paris, Abbot William Monypenny would have been familiar with

would in the 1490s have been a very wealthy man. As the heir to Sir William Monypenny the elder's estates, Alexander had early on sought to sell the Scottish lands and properties he had inherited. As a land owner and important courtier in France, he would also have had a good income. The message regarding the proper employment of one's wealth would have been appropriate for a manuscript perhaps commissioned in part by an ecclesiastic, with the welfare of his brother's soul at heart. It is relevant to note that the themes of divine providence would have struck a cord with the Abbot following his recent failed attempt at securing the position of archbishop of Bourges, a disappointment that might have called for him to cultivate something of the patience of Job.

With this point in mind, the Monypenny Breviary contains at least one image that cannot be understood without a careful examination of Abbot William Monypenny's first election to, and subsequent resignation of, the seat of archbishop of Bourges. On f.267v a Corpus Christi procession moves through a medieval town, surrounded by a crowd of figures carrying lighted tapers. On the architectural framework is inscribed: 'DE NOVO TESTAMENTO ET DE NATIVITATE CHRISTI,' while two sculpted bishops observe the procession from their niches, (1.49). The figures are presented in dramatic close-up, situating the viewer right at the heart of the procession. An ornate monstrance is borne by an archbishop, who is flanked by two assistants holding a gremial decorated with the royal arms of France.²⁴⁷ The archbishop wears a green dalmatic, an extravagantly embroidered gold cope, and white gloves. He is wearing a large ring and an opulent mitre, decorated in pearls and other precious stones. His face is unidealised.²⁴⁸ He is portrayed as an old, and perhaps slightly pompous man, who shares a knowing glance with the assistant to his right, (1.50). The face appears to be a portrait rather than the generic image of an important ecclesiastic. Above the figures is a canopy with a fringe of alternating white, blue, red, and green, held by four assistants dressed in red with red wreaths around their heads. The scene appears to be a reasonably accurate reflection of the actual Corpus Christi procession enacted within the streets of the city of Bourges in the late-fifteenth century.²⁴⁹ Documentation of the Corpus Christi procession in Bourges 1483, shows that the archbishop of Bourges took the leading role in the procession assisted by

the works of Gregory the Great.

247 A monstrance is the vessel used in the Roman Catholic churches to display the consecrated Eucharistic host, derived from the Latin, *monstrare*, meaning 'to show'. A gremial is a square or oblong cloth used by a bishop, or archbishop, primarily to prevent the soiling of vestments.

248 His age is indicted by his bushy white eyebrows, deep lines, and sagging jowls.

249 There are a number of surviving accounts which testify to the participation of the Montluçon atelier in providing decorative accessories for Corpus Christi processions. On the 12 June, 1505, for instance, the Mayor of Bourges directed the municipal treasurer to pay Ursine, wife of the late Jacquelin de Molisson, 'en son vivant peintre demourant en la dicte ville,' the sum of 14 livres tournois, which were due to the deceased for the painting of various decorative equipment for the recent Corpus Christi procession. There are also a number of earlier accounts recording payments made to Jaquelin de Montluçon's father, Jean, for the provision of '4 tournelles et 4 escussons qu'il a peints aux armes du roy et de la ville, qui ont esté mises aux quatre grans tourches, appelées estandarts, qui ont esté portées à l'entour du corps N.S. En faisant le procession de la Feste-Dieu.....' etc. Girardot, 1961, 238; Ulysse, 1880-1, II, 304-6; Ribault, 1967, 313-22; Put, 1922, 72-114.

canons from Bourges Cathedral.²⁵⁰ The royal arms of France on the gremial, and the sun of justice motif on the canopy, associate the archbishop with the support of the reigning king of France, Charles VIII, while the manuscripts allegiance to the house of Orléans is stressed in the illuminated initial. The age of the archbishop precludes any convincing identification of this figure with Abbot William Monypenny.²⁵¹ The evidence suggests instead that this figure was the successful candidate in the 1492 election of archbishop of Bourges: Guillaume de Cambray, who received this promotion primarily through his backing by Charles VIII.²⁵² The identification of Abbot Monypenny's rival as the central figure of the Corpus Christi miniature seems at first problematic.

The peculiar interaction between the archbishop and his assistant suggests that to the original audience of this manuscript the significance of these two figures would have been immediately clear. It is therefore tempting to see this knowing look between archbishop and canon as a depiction of the two rivals of the 1492 election: the successful candidate, Cambray as archbishop, and the unsuccessful candidate, Monypenny as his assistant. Monypenny had been assured at this time of his promotion to the seat following Cambray's death.²⁵³ There is support for this assertion, in that the possible portrait of archbishop Guillaume de Cambray may be considered less than complementary. Having established that the manuscript was written for someone connected to the Franciscan order, and that the likely portrait of William Monypenny the elder on f.24v presents an exemplary figure of Franciscan devotion, the extraordinary luxuriousness of the archbishop may be seen in a more critical light. The ostentatious display of ecclesiastical wealth and pomp, embodied by the figure of the archbishop, was exactly the sort of overt materialism within the Church that led to ecclesiastical reform some years later in France. It is possible that an image of this kind, in 1490s Bourges, would have been viewed with some unease and perhaps distaste. Certainly the pomposity of the archbishop appears at odds with the message throughout the Breviary regarding the pitfalls of accumulated wealth. At the end of the fifteenth century, many high ranking ecclesiastics recognised a degree of moral corruption in the Church, and it is possible that

250 In the documentation presented to the court in Paris during the 1483 disputed election of archbishop of Bourges, between Pierre Cadoet and Guillaume de Cambray, evidence supporting Cadoet's case included a description of his duties during important feast days. The documents note that ' le jour de la feste Dieu.....fit le divin office et porta le corps Nostre Seigneur led. Jour parmy la ville de Bourges processionnellement et revestu *in pontificalibus*. ' Julerot, 2006, 164, 178.

251 Although I have not established Abbot Monypenny's date of birth, his election in 1492 appears to have been early in his career. He graduated from the University of Paris in 1477 and was still employed as a canon of Bourges cathedral in 1520. It is difficult therefore to equate him with this aged figure *c.* 1492.

252 The *Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges*, issued by King Charles VII, on July 7, 1438, was a law granting the secular legislative authority of the king in purely ecclesiastical affairs. Thus the Parliament of Paris received the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church. This sanction placed significant restrictions on the powers of the Pope and remained in place until 1516.

253 See note 84. Records show that Cambray was himself a patron of Jacqueline de Montluçon. A record dating to 1504 notes that Cambray and three other aldermen of Bourges commissioned Jacqueline to paint a series of stained glass windows with their arms and devices for the town hall of Bourges. Girardot, 1961, 148.

Abbot William Monypenny was one such figure.²⁵⁴

The Monypenny Breviary may therefore be read as a didactic work, highlighting key themes that perhaps Abbot Monypenny considered relevant to stress in relation to his worldly elder brother. This moralising and instructive theme was not merely stressed in the religious content of the Breviary, but also appears within the secular themes of the opening calendar. It has already been shown that the complex iconographic program in the calendar drew from a wide range of sources, and appears to have been carefully composed in order to unify a juxtaposition of religious material in the text and the more pagan elements in the imagery. The positioning of the Monypenny arms therefore on f.4r and f.4v is unlikely random, (1.51-2). The arms are without the crozier, and therefore relate to either Sir William Monypenny the elder, or more likely to his son and heir, Alexander. Their position situates them in relation to the virtues of hope and faith, and to the liberal arts, grammar and logic. The *Mantegna Tarocchi*, on which the images of the planetary deities, the virtues, and the liberal arts in the Breviary were based, are thought to have originally formed an educational tool.²⁵⁵ They were bound together and used as an instructive volume which laid out in images, the medieval notion of an ordered and hierarchical universe, in which each component part was assigned its rightful place.²⁵⁶ The specific choice and arrangement of these iconographic types in the Breviary suggest that the deviser of the program thought carefully about the appropriate images, and therefore lessons to associate with each month, and in this case, directly with the Monypenny family.

The composition of the July calendar page situates the Monypenny arms on an architectural column above personifications of hope and faith. Hope raises her hands in prayer and looks towards a heavenly light. Her attribute, the phoenix, embodies the concept of hope, by rising from its own ashes. Below this, faith is shown holding a cross and a chalice with a Eucharist above it. She is accompanied by a small dog, man's faithful companion. These two figures embody two of the three theological virtues and are fundamental virtues for any good Christian to cultivate. The August calendar page displays the Monypenny arms again on an architectural column, this time above personifications of grammar and of logic. The iconography of these two figures is more complex and was based upon the fifth century text, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, an allegorical treatise written by Martianus Capella. In this text the seven liberal arts are described as they arrive with presents at the wedding feast of Mercury and his bride. The artist of the *Mantegna Tarocchi* appears to have carefully adhered to the descriptions in the text, and the artist of the Monypenny Breviary

254 Regarding reform in late-fifteenth century France and the recognition of the need for reform by French bishops see Hayden, & Greenshields, 2005.

255 Levenson, Oberhuber, & Sheehan, 1973, 82.

256 Seznec, 1972, 137-40.

has in turn adhered reasonably carefully to the Italian engravings. Slight errors suggest that the artist was unaware of the original text. The figure of grammar as the foundation of the liberal arts is shown, in accordance to Capella's description, as an old woman bearing a vessel containing a medicine to correct children's' pronunciation and holding a file used to remove grammatical mistakes from their tongues.²⁵⁷ Logic is shown as a young woman carrying a serpent. According to Capella she should be holding a serpent in her left hand and a set of patterns in the her right.²⁵⁸ The artist of the *Tarocchi* appears to have misunderstood the text and placed the serpent under a patterned veil rather than under her sleeve, a mistake which the Monypenny artist has faithfully copied. The significance of this attribute was intended to show how Logic concealed the serpent up her sleeve, just as a clever council must conceal a crucial point.

As part of the trivium, grammar and logic were taught as core disciplines throughout the Middle Ages. They were two of the three cornerstones of medieval education, encompassing the mechanics of language and of thought and analysis. Rhetoric, the third subject of the trivium, dealt with the use of language to instruct or persuade.²⁵⁹ By situating the Monypenny arms above two of the three theological virtues and two of the three fundamental liberal arts, the deviser of the program perhaps sought to draw attention to the qualities that a courtier and diplomat, such as Alexander Monypenny, would require. In 1492 Alexander Monypenny was recorded as having been appointed as captain of the Guard of Honour of Perkin Warbeck, a prestigious position. Perhaps the deviser of the program of decoration in the Breviary sought to highlight these essential qualities as a means of stressing the attributes that secured Alexander such an appointment.

Returning once more to the specific issue of money and the Breviary, the production of this work would have been an expensive and time-consuming business. The quality, richness, and extent

257 '...she entered the senate of the gods dressed in a Roman cloak. She carried in her hands a polished box, a fine piece of cabinetmaking, which shone on the outside with light ivory, from which like a skill physician the woman took out the emblems of wounds that need to be healed....Then she took out a very sharp medicine which she had made of fennelflower and the clippings from a goat's back, a medicine of purest red colour, which she said should be applied to the throat when it was suffering from bucolic ignorance and was blowing out the vile breaths of a corrupt pronunciation..... She also brought out a file fashioned with great skill, which was divided into eight golden parts joined in different ways, and which darted back and forth with which by gentle rubbing she gradually cleaned dirty teeth and ailments of the tongue and the filth.' Stahl, & Johnson, trans, 1977, II, 223-6; Wittkower, 1938, 83.

258 'what she carried in her hands was unexpected, and had been unknown in all the Greek schools. In her left hand she held a snake twined in immense coils; in her right hand she a set of patterns carefully inscribed on wax tablets, which were adorned with the beauty of contrasting colour, was held on the inside by a hidden hook; but since her left hand kept the crafty device of the snake hidden under her cloak, her right hand was offered to one and all. Then if anyone took one of those patterns, he was soon caught on the hook and dragged toward the poisonous coils of the hidden snake, which presently emerged and after first biting the man relentlessly with the venomous points of its sharp teeth then gripped him in its many coils and compelled him to the intended position. If no one wanted to take any of the patterns, Dialectic confronted them with some questions; or secretly stirred the snake to creep up on them until its tight embrace strangled those who were caught and compelled them to accept the will of their interrogator' Stahl, & Johnson, trans, 1977, II, 106-7.

259 The study of grammar, logic, and rhetoric was considered preparatory for the quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy.

of the decoration is almost without equal among illuminated manuscripts of late-medieval Bourges. The commission of this Breviary was therefore a statement of the Monypennys' prosperity, and position in Bourges society at this time. As a family, it is clear that they had accumulated considerable wealth, and the details of the careers of Alexander and Abbot William both show that they held prominent and respected positions in society. Yet beyond the Breviary and additions to the château de Concessault, little evidence of the family's broader appreciation of the arts survives. There are several pieces of evidence, however, that suggest that the Monypennys accumulated a substantial family library. Such evidence is significant as it situates the commission of the Monypenny Breviary in a family context of artistic appreciation, and demonstrates a degree of discernment in their patronage of the Montluçon atelier. Furthermore, it supports the assertion that the recipients of the Breviary would have been mentally equipped to 'read' and appreciate some of its more complex pictorial allusions.

For all the wealth of material concerning Sir William Monypenny, there are precious few references to his domestic situation or cultural interests. In 1471, however, an account from the town of Rouen records, 'Memore que par advis et délibération euz par Messeigneures les Conseillers et autres, puis naguères esté donné un livre tout noef et tout prest escript, en parchemin, ystorié et enluminé, nommé *le Livre de Boccasse*, à Monseigneur de Congressault Manypeny, chevalier, du conseil du Roy notre seigneur, eu par eulx considération à plusieurs services par lui fais à cestedite ville. Lequel livre ainsi tout prest, a cousté xlj l. x s., monnoye à xxvij s. vj d. par escu, de nouvel cryé à ce pris.'²⁶⁰ The gift of this Boccaccio manuscript was certainly in part a reward for Monypenny's involvement in the campaign that liberated Normandy from occupying English forces earlier in 1449. During this episode Monypenny distinguished himself during the Siege of Rouen, for which he was knighted on 6 October 1449.²⁶¹ Furthermore, the record notes that the gift reflected the *many* services that Monypenny had preformed for Rouen, which may lend weight to the assertion that Monypenny was indeed awarded the position of bailli of Rouen.²⁶² Although the manuscript is not given a title, it is likely to have been a copy of *Cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, a very popular text at this time. The reference to it being an illuminated work on parchment, and to it costing the considerable sum of 41 livres 10 sous, all suggest that this was a very smart manuscript and a fitting gift for one who had done much for the town. As yet it has not been possible to match any existing manuscripts with this account. However, it is likely that the quality of the manuscript would have been similar to British Library, Ms. Add. 18750, a finely illuminated mid-fifteenth century copy of *Cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, which bears the arms

²⁶⁰ Richard, 1845, 16; Rabel, 1989, 84, 56.

²⁶¹ See note 18.

²⁶² See note 20.

of the Rochechouart family.²⁶³ Furthermore, the close proximity of the Rochechouart family at Jars to the Monypennys at Concressault during the last years of the fifteenth century leaves open the tantalising possibility that this manuscript may be identified with the account quoted above, (Map 1).²⁶⁴

The second piece of evidence that the Monypennys had a family library, or at least held an appreciation for illuminated texts, may be found in a small manuscript acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 2006.²⁶⁵ The manuscript is a copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, a French medieval poem styled as an allegorical dream vision. The work was composed as a lesson on the art of love, and was one of the most popular examples of courtly literature dating to the thirteenth century.²⁶⁶ This particular manuscript dates to the mid-fourteenth century, and is finely illuminated with an opening miniature of the central character sleeping. As an early surviving copy of this work, it has proved of considerable interest to scholars primarily for its inclusion of a prologue, which exists in a slightly different form in only one other example.²⁶⁷ Of relevance to the current study is that on the penultimate line of the manuscript we find a signature of a member of the Monypenny family, (1.53). The surname clearly reads 'Monypeny' and the rounded 'e' appears to be written in a humanist script that would date the signature to the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁶⁸ The preceding initial is a little unclear but could be read as an 'A' relating to Alexander Monypenny. The other possibilities, that it may be an 'N' or an 'H,' are difficult to account for.

The account of the Boccaccio manuscript together with this copy of the *Roman de la Rose* provides evidence of the family's appreciation of the art of illumination and of the family possessing the bibliographic tendencies one might expect from a high ranking, educated family in France at this time. The signature within the *Roman de la Rose* manuscript suggests that this work may have already been of some age before it was obtained by the Monypennys, indicating an interest in

263 For British Library Add. Ms 18750 see Branca, 1999, III, 197-8. The manuscript dates to the second-half of the fifteenth century and was illuminated in Rouen. The Rochechouart arms are found on f.2v, 3r, and 8r. The Rochechouarts were important patrons of illuminated manuscripts of this period and their arms are also found on Paris, BnF ms. fr. 20071-72; ms. fr. 20362 and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms 2566.

264 The Rochechouart family where an ancient noble French family with lands in Limousin and Berry. Guillaume de Rochechouart, a prominent figure at the turn of the sixteenth century, built the church of St Aignan at Jars, a small town several miles from Concressault and Aubigny-sur-Nere. This connection is interesting, as the church of Saint-Aignan, Jars, was under the patronage of the Abbey of Saint-Satur, furthermore, the arms of Abbot William Monypenny are included within the decoration of the vaulted ceiling, suggesting that he was involved in its construction. The close connection between the Monypenny and Rochechouart families may lend some weight to the possibility that the British Library Ms is the work that was presented to Sir William Monypenny by the town councillors of Rouen. Nicholay, 1567, 93-4.

265 Provenance: previously in the collection of the Abbé de Tersan, (1736-1819), acquired in 1814 by Prince Louis d'Öttingen-Wallerstein, it was then acquired by Francis Kettaneh. See the sale catalogue Bergé, 2006, 14-16.

266 The poem was written in two stages. The first part by Guillaume de Lorris c. 1230, continued by Jean de Meun c. 1275.

267 Valentini, 2007, 93-100.

268 I am grateful to Professor Philip Bennett for his opinion on this signature, although the conclusions I have drawn differ in some respects from those that he expressed and therefore any errors are all my own.

acquiring existing manuscripts as well as commissioning new works. Of course the Monypenny Breviary must be seen as the pinnacle of the family's appreciation of illuminated texts and was surely the masterpiece of their collection. The time, expense, and thought that was lavished on the Breviary suggest that this work was always intended to be their artistic legacy. The sheer extent and innovation of its illuminations shows that it was conceived as a very personal artistic statement, intended to commemorate the illustrious name of their family through the ages. Some of the impetus behind such a commission may be understood by looking at works of a similar quality commissioned by their French peers. The *Hours of Louis de Laval*, for instance, is perhaps closest to the Monypenny Breviary in the lavishness of its decoration. Furthermore, it was produced as a collaborative effort between the Colombe and Montluçon ateliers.²⁶⁹ Evidence of the close relationship between these two works is found in the repetition of some of the Laval compositions within the Monypenny Breviary. For example, the image of Simon Magus in flight in the Monypenny Breviary clearly stems either directly from the Laval version, or from compositional drawings at the Colombe atelier, (1.54).²⁷⁰ Louis de Laval was an important nobleman during the fifteenth century and was also a notable bibliophile.²⁷¹ His chaplain, Sébastien Mamerot, composed or translated numerous works for his master, and their illumination was frequently entrusted to the Colombe atelier.²⁷² The *Hours of Louis de Laval* is often considered to be Colombe's finest work. The ambitious scale and complex combination of texts, legends, and illuminations, presupposes a considerable degree of planning, leading scholars to suggest that the work was overseen by Louis's chaplain, Mamerot. Yet, as we have seen, the Monypenny Breviary was as ambitious in its scope and complexity as Laval's slightly earlier manuscript.²⁷³ The Monypenny Breviary was therefore an

269 Avril, & Reynaud, 1998, no.179; Schaefer, 1980, 52-68; Schaefer, 1994. The illuminations for the *Hours of Louis de Laval* were undertaken during two separate campaigns by the Colombe atelier, c.1470-5 and c.1485-9. A note written by François Robertet, records that the manuscript was given to Anne of France, sister of Charles VIII, after the death of Laval on the 21 August, 1489, in accordance with his will.

270 There are a number of compositions used within the *Monypenny Breviary* that find their origin within the *Hours of Louis de Laval*. For instance: *Noah's Arc*, f.130v within the M.B. & f.17 within the H.o.L.d.L.; *the Coronation of the Virgin*, f.702r within the M.B. & f.117v within the H.o.L.d.L.; the various episodes concerning *St James the Greater*, f.590v within the M.B. & f.268 within the H.o.L.d.L.; *the Charity of St Martin*, f.713r within the M.B. & f.300v within the H.o.L.d.L.; *the Raising of the True Cross*, f.525v within the M.B. & f.117v within the H.o.L.d.L. and *the Transfiguration*, f.601 within the M.B. & f.339v within the H.o.L.d.L. Similarities may also be seen in iconographic details such as the bejewelled pillars on f.156r and f.636r of the M.B. which are also found on the folio illustrating Saint Tugal, f.306, within the H.o.L.d.L. Many of the compositions found within the *Hours of Louis de Laval* derive ultimately from Jean Fouquet, (c.1420-81). Compare, for instance, *the Charity of St Martin*, with Fouquet's version within the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, (Paris, musée du Louvre, RF 1679), or, *the flight of Simon Magus* with Fouquet's, *Hand of God Protecting the Faithful against the Demons*, from the same manuscript (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975.I.2490).

271 Louis de Laval, c.1411 – 21 August, 1489.

272 Sébastien Mamerot's works for Louis de Laval included a translation of the *Romueon* by Benvenuto da Imola, (1361-1364), *Les Passages d'outre mer du noble Godefroy de Bouillon, du bon roy Saint Loys et de plusieurs vertueux princes* of 1474-5 and a *Histoire des Neuf Preus et des Neuf Preues* begun in the early 1460s.

273 The *Hours of Louis de Laval* - c.1470-5 and c.1485-9, 245x 176mm, 684 leaves. The *Monypenny Breviary* – c.1492-5, 232 x 145mm, 822 leaves.

artistic commission which may be said to equal in both size and quality the very greatest examples of illuminated texts in France at this time. As patrons, the Monypennys commissioned a work that was not merely appropriate for important noblemen in France at this time, but that far exceeded many contemporary works, and is rivalled in quality only by a manuscript commissioned by one of the greatest bibliophiles of the age. The expense involved in such a work, and the complexity of its content, both textual, and pictorial, suggests that the Monypennys wished to make a real statement about both their prosperity and importance within Bourges society at the end of the fifteenth century. The complexity of the material included within the Breviary suggests that the Monypennys may also have employed someone to oversee the project in the same way that Mamerot may have been responsible for supervising the *Hours of Louis de Laval*. In the history of great patrons of the arts in Bourges in the later Middle Ages, the Monypennys took their place, with Louis de Laval, following in the tradition of Jean, duc de Berry: a position which they would have been fully aware of, given their situation at the château de Concessault.²⁷⁴

From the evidence examined, it may be said that the patronage of the Monypenny family was of the highest quality and compares well with their most exalted French peers. With regards to Sir William Monypenny's sons, evidence suggests that promoting their Scottish heritage was not of great importance in their patronage. While their heraldry and thus their family name would have meant a great deal to them, the concerns illustrated in the Monypenny Breviary have a purely French and local relevance to political and social events in the region of Berry. In this respect, the patronage of the Monypenny family differs a great deal from the two other cases examined in this thesis. The reasons behind this will be discussed at a later stage. The evidence examined in this first chapter concerns a family who appear to have all but severed their ties with Scotland, and who, by the end of the fifteenth century, are concerned primarily with establishing their careers and reputation in France on equal terms to their French peers.

274 The fame of the duc de Berry's magnificent patronage spread far and wide after his death. In book 24 of Filarete's *Trattato d'Architettura*, compiled at the Sforza court, he cited Jean de Berry as the *exemplum* of princely patronage. Furthermore in his moral treatise *De Splendor*, (1492-4), Giovanni Pontano referred to Alfonso the Magnanimous' ambition to surpass Berry as a patron of the arts. Canfield, 1995, 37.

CHAPTER 2 : THE STUARTS OF AUBIGNY

Bérault Stuart: '*Father of War*'

Towards the end of his life, Bérault Stuart arrived in Scotland to a rapturous welcome. James IV received him as his kinsman, and guest of honour, greeting him with the exalted title of 'Father of War.'¹ The Scottish court poet, William Dunbar, composed an eulogy to Bérault styling him as 'the soun of Mars', and 'flour of chevalry,' while comparing him to Achilles, Hector, Arthur, Agamemnon, Hannibal and Julius Caesar, (2.1).² Before examining the patronage of Bérault Stuart and in order to understand and contextualise such enthusiastic adulation, it is necessary to review his diplomatic and military career.³ While it is not possible to enumerate all the many contemporary accounts of Bérault's actions, both on and off the battlefield, it is instructive to sketch an outline of the career that earned him European celebrity.

Bérault Stuart was born c.1447, (Appendix 2a). His glittering career as a Franco-Scottish general in the Italian Wars was recorded at length by the chroniclers of his day. Brantôme notes that he was renowned as the 'grand chevalier sans reproche,'⁴ Philippe de Commines describes him as 'bon chevalier et saige et honnorable,'⁵ and in the *mémoires* of that most famed Renaissance knight, Bayard, he is described as 'vn tres-gentil & vertueux Capitaine.'⁶ Bérault was the grandson of Sir John Stuart of Darnley who in October, 1419, was one of the commanding knights of the Scottish army that travelled to France to help oppose the advancing English conquest. In recognition of this valuable military assistance Sir John Stuart was awarded the right to quarter his arms with the French royal arms, and was also granted the castellany of Concessault in 1421, and of the seigneurie of Aubigny in 1423.⁷

Bérault Stuart is first recorded in the muster-roll of the Scots men-at-arms in 1469.⁸ His career spanned thirty-nine years, in the service of Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII. In 1484 he was sent to Scotland to announce the accession of Charles VIII to James III, and to add his

1 Lindsay of Pitscottie, 1899, 162.

2 This poem was printed by Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, (1508). A copy of Bérault's eulogy is held at the National Library of Scotland and is the oldest Scottish printed book known to survive. The poem mentioned may be missing two leaves. On the reverse of one page there is some early text from which can be made out 'Prince of freedom and flour of gentleness'. Beattie, 1950, 177-196; Dickson, & Edmond, 1890, 1-82.

3 The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland record expenses of £1083, 7s, 7d for the entertainment of Berald, Lord of Aubigny and the Lord president of the parliament of Paris, with 60 persons in their suite, incurred during this visit. *Ex. Rolls Scot*, XIII, liv, lv, lvi.

4 Brantôme, 1977, III, 92.

5 Commines, 1925, III, 136.

6 Bayard, 1616, XVIII, 84.

7 Soyer, 1899, 21-34.

8 Forbes-Leith, 1882, I, 161.

signature to the treaty renewing the 'auld alliance', (2.2).⁹ A year later, Charles VIII sent him in command of a French contingent of mercenaries to the Battle of Bosworth, where he was mentioned in Sir John Beaumont's poem *Bosworth Field*, as a 'blossom of the Stewart's happy line'.¹⁰ In 1489, while a bailiff of Berry, he was sent by Charles VIII on a secret mission to liberate Louis, duc d'Orléans, from the Great Tower of Bourges where he had been imprisoned since the Battle of Saint Aubin de Cornier.¹¹ Bérault and Charles VIII secretly travelled to the bridge of Barangeon, outside Bourges. Bérault then proceeded to the Great Tower alone and arranged for the release of the duc d'Orléans, who was guarded by Bérault's fellow Scotsman, Patrick Maclellan.¹²

By 1491 Charles VIII was eager to strengthen an alliance with the house of Sforza in Milan, in order to reinforce his standing against the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I. Thus he sent Bérault, as chief ambassador, on an embassy to Milan.¹³ When news of the embassy arrived, Ludovico Sforza prepared to give the French ambassadors a splendid reception. In March, 1491, he wrote to his secretary, Bartolommeo Calco, providing detailed instructions for the preparation of a suite of rooms in the Castello, where the *most Christian king's envoys* were to be lodged. As much of the palace was undergoing improvements, Ludovico gave up his own rooms for the use of the distinguished guests. Bérault Stuart, he wrote, 'would occupy the Duchess of Bari's apartment, known as the *Sala della Asse*, and would use the duchess's boudoir with the painted Amorini over the mantelpiece, and the adjoining chambers for his dining and robing room.'¹⁴ All of these rooms had been grandly decorated with canopies adorned with fleur-de-lis, and it is likely such visual grandeur would have impressed the French envoys.

In 1493 Bérault was appointed to succeed John Cunningham as captain of the Scottish archers of the guard, and thus bear the title 'first captain of the guard.' This entitled Bérault to certain privileges, such as standing closest to the king at a coronation, and being presented with the town keys on the occasion of the king's royal entry ceremony. Furthermore, the Scots guard alone

9 Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, SP7/16. Indenture on treaty of alliance between King Charles VIII and King James III. Signed by two French commissioners, 13 Mar, 1483-1484. Stuart, 1798, 197. A comparison may be made to Bérault's signature in a letter at the la Verrerie Archives, published in Comminges, 1976, pl. 4.

10 Beaumont, 1710, 28.

11 Bérault was bailiff of Berry from 1487-1489 and from 1492-98. Dupont-ferrier, 1902, 79, Dupont-ferrier, 1942, I, 377-79.

12 Raynal, 1845, III, 166.

13 In a letter from Erasmo Brascha, a Milanese Ambassador at the French court, to Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, dated the 6 October, 1491, discussions are recorded regarding a marriage match between Bianca Maria Sforza and James IV of Scotland. Brascha also notes that 'Monsignor d'Aubigni, not only in this, but in everything else, never ceases to show himself openly the warm friend of your Excellency. I must not forget to add that if you wish to live in friendship with his Majesty, I see nothing which will secure this more firmly than this Scottish match, as they make more account of that nation than of any other in Christendom.' *Cal. of State Papers of Milan*: (Milan 1491), 446.

14 The 'Marchese d'Obegnino' as they called him. Cartwright, 1920, 114-115. This was prior to Leonardo da Vinci's painting of the *Sala della Asse*, c. 1498-99.

had the duty to bear the monarch's body to the grave. Fleuranges, writing in 1507, remarked that nearest to the king were twenty-five Scottish archers, who wore white jerkins, with a gold embroidered crown on their breasts and these archers where 'sous la charge sieur d'Aubigny'.¹⁵ This select band of archers were chosen not merely on account of their military performance, but also on their height, good-looks, and descent from noble families. Dressed in white and gold, and mounted on grey chargers, they must have been quite a sight to behold. The general standard of the Scots men-at-arms was white, fringed with gold, bearing on one side a crowned fleur-de-lis, and on the other, three trees and a running greyhound, with the motto 'In omni modo fidelis'.¹⁶ Bérault and his cousin Robert also had their own personal banner, on which was a lion holding a sword, with the old family war cry 'Avant Darnley.' On each side of the lion were two small banners; the right bearing a shield with three lilies, and a border of buckles, and the left bearing the arms of Stuart. These two banners were connected by a scroll with the motto 'Distantia Jungit,' emphasising the Stuart d'Aubigny's role as the connection, or buckle, that held close Scotland and France.¹⁷

In 1494 Charles VIII sent an embassy to the pope, lead by Bérault, who was described by the king as his 'general and confidential friend'.¹⁸ Charles hoped in this exercise to lay claim to the Crown of the two Sicilies, a claim which he had inherited from his father Louis XI. On his return Bérault received orders to lead one thousand horses into Lombardy, over the Alps, by way of the St Bernard, and Simplon passes. Bérault was later joined by Charles VIII, and they entered Florence in triumph on the 15 November, 1494, and Rome on the 31 December. While Charles VIII returned to France, Bérault remained in Italy as governor of Calabria, under the command of Gilbert de Montpensier, the viceroy of Naples.¹⁹ A letter in the Bibliothèque nationale, addressed to the king and dated 21 June, 1495, describes, in Bérault's own hand, a great victory near Seminara over Ferdinand II of Naples and Gonsolvo de Cordova of Spain.²⁰

A document of 1494 reveals more details of places Bérault visited during his career, and acquaintances he made. In a letter from Francesco Gonzaga to his wife, Isabella d'Este, he tells her 'Monseigneur de Migni', as he called Bérault, and three other French ambassadors had arrived in Mantua on the 22 April, with eighty-five horsemen, to ask for a free passage through his dominion on their way to Naples. Furthermore, he notes that they secretly tried to persuade him to enter Charles VIII's service offering him the titles of captain-general and grand chamberlain. Francesco

15 Fleuranges, 1786, 33.

16 'In all things faithful,' Chassant, & Tausin, 1878, 152.

17 Thaumassière, 1865, 31 & 416.

18 Roscoe, 1753-1831, 154

19 Bérault Stuart also acquired the title of Marchese di Squilazzo and Conte d'Acri.

20 Cust, 1891, 32; Michel. 1862, I, 291; Paris. BnF. L. 28, bk. I.

refused this offer, having already pledged his allegiance to Venice.²¹

Following his success at Seminara, Bérault was struck with illness, perhaps malaria, an affliction which would periodically resurface throughout the rest of his career. This, and the reputed negligence of Montpensier, led to the subsequent French loss of Calabria. It was perhaps on Bérault's return to France that he was rewarded for his services in this campaign with the collar of the Order of Saint Michel.²² Bérault's second Italian campaign came under the reign of Louis XII, who had bolstered his claim to Italian territory by adding his own supposed right to the duchy of Milan.²³ Bérault invaded Italy in the service of Louis XII, in September 1499, with an army of twenty thousand men. His cousin Robert Stuart accompanied him, as lieutenant of the Scots men-at-arms. Lombardy was conquered in twenty days. Although initially remaining in Italy to garrison the towns of the North, Bérault returned to France by 30 June, 1500. A short letter written at this time by Bérault, to Niccolò Michiel, congratulates the latter on having been selected procurator of St Mark's and requests recommendation to the patrician senators. He also mentions his impending departure from Lyon to take up the government of the Milanese.²⁴

Auton records in great detail the next campaign when, in May 1501, Bérault received orders to commence the conquest of Naples. As the troops passed through Rome, Alexander VI is recorded as having entertained the captains. Auton notes that the pope presented Bérault with a 'coursier griz, bien puissant, moult viste, et tres leger a la main, aveques les bardes tant riches et belles que chascun en fist spectacle de merveilles.'²⁵ Later during the siege of Capua, in June 1501, illness forced Bérault to leave his troops in the charge of Caesar Borgia, resulting in an episode, significantly clouded by atrocities committed by the French army under Borgia's command.²⁶ Bérault, nevertheless took control of Naples and sent Federigo, the dethroned monarch, to France.²⁷ Pittscottie records that Bérault ruled the kingdom with wisdom and gentleness, and won the hearts of all the people there.²⁸ Bérault's successes appear however to have begun to inflame the jealousies of other French commanders, apparently causing Louis XII to dispatch Louis d'Armagnac, duc de

21 Cartwright, 1903, 112-113.

22 The exact date is unknown.

23 The claim derived from his grandmother, Valentina Visconti.

24 *Cal. State Papers Relating to English Affairs in Venice*, I:1202-1509, 807. A bronze portrait medal of Niccolò Michiel, (1440-1518), and his wife Dea Contarini is held at the British Museum, London. It states that he was procurator of San Marco. Fra Antonio da Brescia, c.1500. Scher, 1994, no. 29. Niccolò Michiel and Bérault are frequently mentioned in *the Diaries of Marino Sanuto*. Sanuto, 1969-70, I: v, & viii. Auton also mentions Bérault's flattering appointment to the position of governor of Milan. Bérault was appointed to this role jointly with Charles d'Amboise on the 28, October, 1499. Auton, 1889-1895, I, 12-13, n.1, 91, n.4, 313.

25 Auton, 1889-1895, II, 12, 34; Garner, 1912, 180.

26 Auton, 1889-1895, II, 42-70; Sanuto, 1969-70, IV: 76-78. Particularly 58-9. As Baumgartner noted 'Stuart was a stern disciplinarian' and such conduct would not have been tolerated under his command. Baumgartner, 1994, 123.

27 Federigo was well treated in France, given a pension, and the county of Maine. He spent his last years peacefully in the Loire Valley.

28 Lindsay of Pittscottie, 1899, 241-244.

Nemours, to take over from Bérault as viceroy of Naples.²⁹ Bérault, insulted by this turn of events, requested permission to return to France; refused, and clearly affronted, Bérault headed for Calabria with an under-supported army and gained victory at Terranuova over the Spaniards on Christmas day, 1502. He gained a further victory at Girace obtaining the titles of duc di Terranuova and marchese de Girace.

Having achieved twelve victories in battle, Bérault made his first real martial misjudgement, and suffered a resounding defeat against the Spanish at Seminara, on the 21 April, 1503.³⁰ Auton describes how Bérault, almost bereft of reason and seeing his men all dead or prisoners, ran here and there trying to rally his scattered soldiers, but was so covered with dust, that the enemy, with whom he was often mixed, could not recognise him.³¹ Eighteen days later, however, when forced to surrender, Bérault regained his composure and calmly accepted his fate. He was imprisoned in the great tower of Castel Nuovo at Naples until he was released without ransom after a truce was forged between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon. Bérault was then welcomed back to France at Blois by Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. Auton records that he took full advantage of this occasion to hear directly from Bérault accounts of his Neapolitan exploits.³²

Following this episode Bérault suffered frequent ill health. He was present with Louis XII at his entry to Genoa on the 28 April 1507, and at his entry into Milan in May of the same year. Furthermore, Auton describes a curious episode, in June 1507, when Bérault and Louis XII had travelled to Savona to see Ferdinand of Aragon. Bérault, on this occasion, suffered a severe attack of gout.³³ The king of Aragon enquired as to his whereabouts, adding he would like to see him, as he knew him to be a 'moult bon chevalier et sage,' and that he had seen him in Spain and Grenada where he executed many deeds of prowess. Due to Bérault's incapacitated state, it was agreed that the king would visit Bérault at his lodgings.³⁴ When Bérault heard of this honour, he struggled into a chair, on seeing the king, he fell to his knees and exclaimed he would have crawled, sooner than have the king come to him. He claimed the happiness of the king's visit had made him well on the spot! Thus Bérault, the king, and the other Spanish lords drank together and talked at length about the wars in Grenada and about 'plusieurs autres bons propos et joyeuses choses.'³⁵

In 1508 James IV wrote to Louis XII, requesting Bérault be allowed to fulfil a vow he had

29 A poor decision by Louis XII, this led to the downfall of the French occupation of Naples. Baumgartner notes that Nemours was young and rash and not the man to replace the seasoned, veteran warrior, Bérault Stuart. Baumgartner, 1994, 125.

30 Giovio notes that Aubigny mournfully reproached fortune who had deceived him 'having been till then invincible, and twelve times victorious in battle since he began to be a warrior in France and Britain.' Giovio, 1550, 163.

31 Auton, 1889-1895, III, 160-165.

32 Auton, 1889-1895, III, 314.

33 'lequel seigneur d'Aubigny estoit en la ville malade de goutte a son logis.....' Auton, 1889-1895, IV, 357.

34 Auton, 1889-1895, IV, 357.

35 Auton, 1889-1895, IV, 358.

pledged to undertake a pilgrimage to St Ninian's shrine in Whithorn, Scotland.³⁶ Louis agreed and Bérault, accompanied by John Sellat, president of the Parliament of Paris, set off for Scotland.³⁷ Several authors record that Bérault and his party passed first through England, noting that 'Lord Dawbeny' attended a service at St Paul's on the feast of the Annunciation, wearing the collar of the Order of St Michael and riding on a richly caparisoned horse.³⁸

Thus Bérault travelled to Scotland and was greeted by James IV as the *Father of War*. He was not only the guest of honour at the Scottish court but also the judge of a grand display of jousting and tournaments held in his honour.³⁹ The 1508 pageant of *The Wild Knight and the Black Lady*, enacted for Bérault's pleasure, was one of the most extravagant and famous pageants in Scotland's history.⁴⁰ In a demonstration of the high mutual esteem Bérault and James IV held each other, Bérault presented the king with a gift of six horses, but the king of Scotland, not to be outdone in generosity, in turn presented his distinguished guest with seven horses with French saddles.⁴¹ Not long after Bérault's arrival in Scotland, his health, once again became a cause for concern. He was taken ill on route from Edinburgh to Stirling, and before he came close to fulfilling his vow of visiting St Ninian's shrine, he died at the house Sir John Forrester, at Corstorphine. A copy of Bérault's last will and testament was published in 1798 in Andrew Stuart's *History of the Stewarts*.⁴² In this will Bérault requested he be buried in the house of the Observant Franciscans in Edinburgh, to whom he had bequeathed £14, while his heart was to be sent to Whithorn.⁴³ Despite this evidence, numerous authors have wrongly recorded that Bérault was buried instead in the

36 *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513*, 1953, 113. The letter dated May, 1508, reads: Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, subject of Louis and well-beloved kinsman of James, desires to visit St. Ninian and fulfil a vow which he undertook, if Louis will be so good as to grant permission. James begs royal indulgence for the pilgrimage, which will actually enable so trusty a man to inform James thoroughly regarding his commission; and he asks Louis to see that meanwhile Bernard's authority, position, and revenues suffer no detriment. He has sent Alan Stewart, one of the household, with the present request.

37 John Sellat is often cited as the president of the Parliament of Toulouse; Cust, 1891, 39. The Exchequer Rolls records him as president of the Parliament of Paris. *Ex. Rolls Scot.* XIII, 1508-1513, liv-lvi.

38 'Annunciacionis autem vespera jamdictus dominus Dawbeny equo sedens ornatissimo, pupureus, colloque torque aureo vasti ponderis cochleis angelici ordinis insignito, pulchra comitatus caterva ad Sanctum Paulum rei divinæ gratia audiendæ pulchro cum equitatu incessit.' Gairdner, 1858, 113.

39 See note 3.

40 Fradenburg, 1991; Gray, 1998. Pitscottie's account of the tournament is unreliable. He wrongly dates it to 1504 and calls it as the tournament of the Black Knight. This leaves in doubt the reliability of his other claims, i.e. that the event lasted forty days and that there were banquets at Holyrood for three. He also notes that at each banquet a farce or a play was enacted with conjuring tricks.

41 *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot.* IV: 1507-1513, xviii, 110, 117, 118, 122; *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot.* III: 1506-1507, xlv, xlvi. There is also a mention of 'the gilt ermyt my lord of Owbigne gaif the king and for making of ane new sicht to it'

42 Stuart, 1798, 207- 208.

43 The Exchequer Rolls include an enigmatic entry in 1510 for £5 paid to a Johannnem Broune for expenses incurred concerning the 'provision of Bernardi Stewart when sent to St Ninian's in respect of damages sustained in said provision.' This probably refers to an expedition to take Bérault's heart to St Ninian's. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, XIII, 1508-1513: 360. Balfour also notes that 'He commanded, on his death-bed, to embalm his heart, after his death, and send it to St. Ninians, in performance of a vow which he had made while he was viceroy of Naples.' Balfour, 1776, I, 230.

church at Corstorphine.⁴⁴

Bérault died leaving £2,004 worth of plate and valuables, yet, owing £1,850 to various creditors. Little appears to be recorded of his investments in land and property. Despite the wealth of documentary evidence regarding Bérault's military career, relatively little is known of his family life. In 1484 he married Anne de Maumont, daughter of Guy de Maumont, seigneur de Saint Quentin, and Jeanne d'Alencon.⁴⁵ From this marriage, Bérault assumed the title of comte de Beaumont le Roger. They had one daughter, Anne, who later became the wife of Robert Stuart, maréchal of France, and fifth seigneur d'Aubigny.

In 1798, Andrew Stuart, in the aforementioned, *History of the Stewarts*, published a copy of a letter dated 22 June, 1508, written upon Bérault's death by James IV of Scotland to Anne, Queen of France.⁴⁶ The letter was an expression of condolence, in which James IV grieved Bérault's death, and requested that Anne look favourably upon Bérault's two close relatives in France: John and Robert Stuart. It was not long after Bérault's rapturous welcome into Edinburgh that William Dunbar was inspired to write a second poem in honour of Bérault Stuart. This time it was an elegy, again describing him as a 'Noble valiant knyght,' but asking that we pray for him, this recently deceased 'flour of chevelrie.'⁴⁷

44 An ancient tomb in a niche under the window of the southern transept, with a recumbent male figure in armour and a dog at his feet, has for more than three centuries been identified as the place of Bérault's interment. As Laing notes, however, the shields above the tomb indicate that this was a Forrester tomb and not that of Bérault. The tomb is also significantly older than 1508. Laing, 1851, 353-62.

45 He is frequently incorrectly recorded as having married twice. His first wife being Guillemette de Boucard. Cust, 1891, 44; Châtelet, 2007, 193; Billioud, 1948, IV. 180. etc. Guillemette de Boucard was the second wife of Bérault's father John Stuart. An informed discussion of Bérault's genealogy is found in Vogüé, 1971. Here it is noted that Anne outlived Bérault and re-married Antoine de Perdilhan. For the date of his marriage to Anne I have used Vogüé's findings. Contamine in the *O.D.N.B.* dates the marriage to 1494, and Cust to 1487.

46 Stuart, 1798, 208-209. There is another short letter addressed from James IV to Anne, Queen of France, dating to June, 1508, mentioning the deceased knight, Bernard Stuart. James IV also wrote to Louis XII at the end of June, 1508. In this letter he notes that of the two ambassadors whom Louis sent, one a famous and dear kinsman, died at his court, and the other was so stricken with grief that there were fears for his life. This delayed his departure until he was strong enough and he had gone off before he had completely recovered. *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513*, 1953, 114- 115, 120.

47 This poem of lamentation was not issued in print. MacDonald, 2001, 163.

Douglas Gray observed that 'those men who seemed to their contemporaries, or at least to their contemporary panegyrists, to embody the ideals of the chivalric life in the actual world of war and policy, are a fascinating subject for the student of civilisation.'⁴⁸ Bérault Stuart certainly was one such figure; he lived up to the chivalric ideal, but was also an effective military commander. Having briefly examined the written records of Bérault's life, it is instructive to examine the visual records and consider why they were produced, and how they were used.

In October 1933, a collection of Renaissance medals, amassed by the late Thomas Whitcombe Greene was put up for sale. The collection was bought, almost in its entirety, by the British Museum. As George Hill noted at the time, one of the most unique and important medals acquired by the museum was 'the fine portrait of Béraud Stuart d'Aubigny, Chevalier de Saint Michel, one of the suite of Charles VIII on his Italian expedition, a characteristic work of Niccolò Fiorentino.'⁴⁹ The bronze medal shows a bust portrait of Bérault in profile. He is clean-shaven, with shoulder-length hair, and wearing a cap with the back-flap turned up and tied at the front. He wears the chain and pendant of the Order of St Michael over a robe with a broad collar. The text that runs along the outside of the medal reads: 'BERAVD.STVAR.CELR.DE.LORDRE.DVROY.TRES.CRESTIEN.SEIGN—R.DAVBIGNI.' There is, therefore, no doubt this is a portrait medal depicting Bérault Stuart, seigneur d'Aubigny (2.3). The medal belongs to a group of portrait medals of Frenchmen who took part in the expedition to Italy in 1494-5. The other medals in this group depict Charles VIII, (2.4); Gilbert de Bourbon, comte de Montpensier; Jean Damont; Jean du Mas de l'Isle, councillor of Charles VIII; Antoine de Gimel, councillor of Charles VIII; Etienne d'Eymbext Sarra de Lespringue; Jean Matharon de Salignac, chamberlain of Charles VIII, and an unknown Frenchman.⁵⁰ The medals were primarily grouped together on stylistic grounds, and their dating and attribution to Niccolò Fiorentino, or his workshop, has remained unchallenged since the thirties.

The portrait of Bérault depicts a middle-aged man with a strong, distinctive profile. Bérault would have been approximately forty-seven years old by this time, which fits comfortably with the portrait. The features are skilfully observed and show a characterful face. Just as the depiction of

48 Gray, 1974, 28.

49 Or Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli. Hill, 1934, 116; Delaborde, 1888, 168; Hill, 1930, 253, pl. 953. Reproduced in Cust, 1891; Comminges, 1976; Ribault, 1973-74. Scher, noted in his entry for Spinelli in the *Oxford Dictionary of Art* that the medal of *Béraud Stuart d'Aubigny* is one of the best quality in this group.

50 Hill noted five casts of the Charles VIII medal and one smaller version of the same design, which he remarked was probably French in origin rather than Italian. Hill, 1930, 251. Also Forrer, 1909, 6-7. (a). Berlin; (b). Florence; (c). Paris; (d). Previously Gustave Dreyfus – now Samuel H. Kress Collection. N.G.A. Washington DC; (e). Formerly Addington.

Charles VIII does not gloss over any of the king's imperfections, the image of Bérault gives a convincing idea of how he may have looked at this time.

Bérault is depicted in typical French courtly dress of the period, his hat closely matching that worn by Charles VIII. The most striking detail of his apparel is the collar of the Order of St Michael worn over his robe. The collar consisted of a gold badge; the Archangel St Michael standing on a rock, (Mont Saint-Michel) in combat with a serpent, suspended from an elaborate gold collar made of cockleshells linked by double knots. The date Bérault was awarded the Order of St Michael is shrouded in confusion. Colleville notes that he was promoted to the Order in 1493, this was quoted by Elie de Comminges. Michel stated that Bérault received the award on his return to France towards the end of 1496 without stating his source, whereas the Marquis de Vogüé noted that Bérault received the collar in 1499, referencing this claim to the archives at la Verrerie.⁵¹ The Spinelli medal would suggest, however, that Bérault was already a member of the order by 1494-5.⁵²

In the absence of documentary evidence it is difficult to reconstruct the circumstances surrounding the commission of this set of Florentine portrait medals. Renaissance portrait medals were often produced to commemorate a person, or event, and used as a form of visual propaganda. While the obverse of the medal bore a portrait of the patron, the reverse was frequently exploited to construct, or expand, a political statement relating to that figure. On the reverse of the medal of Charles VIII, for instance, is the figure of Victory, winged, and wearing a long tunic, bearing a sword and a palm frond. She stands on a chariot drawn by two prancing horses. The horses are preceded by the personification of Peace, who holds an olive branch. The chariot displays the royal arms of France, (2.4). The message is clear: the medal was produced to commemorate Charles VIII's acquisition of territory in Italy, specifically the invasions of Florence and Naples of 1494-5. The medal was to be read as a confirmation of France's right to victory and their wish for a peaceful conquest.⁵³ Unfortunately Bérault's medal lacks any design on the reverse, as do three other medals in this group. Whether this was always intended, or the result of a lack of time, money, or other circumstances, is difficult to determine.

The interest in portrait medals in France has a long history that may be traced back to some

51 Colleville, 1924, 70; Comminges, 1976, 68; Contamine, 2004, 'Bérault Stuart', *O.D.N.B.*; Contamine, 1999, 62; Michel, 1862, I, 292; Vogüé, 1971.

52 The medals were produced prior to the Charles VIII's death in 7 April, 1498. As they form a coherent group, they were probably commissioned in 1494-95, prior to the death of Gilbert de Bourbon, comte de Montpensier on the 5 of October, 1496, and of Jean du Mas de l'Isle in the Autumn of 1495. This suggests that the evidence cited by the Marquis de Vogüé noting that Bérault received the collar of the Order of St Michael in 1499 is mistaken or has been misinterpreted. Boulton, 1987, 442.

53 The text on the reverse reads, 'VICTORIAM PAX SEQUETUR', leaving little room for misinterpretation of the image. The design of this medal is an adaptation of that used on a medal made for Caterina Sforza, with some minor alterations.

intriguing objects found in the inventories of Jean, duc de Berry. The duc de Berry acquired a number of gold medal-like objects adorned with pseudo-portraits of, among others, Caesar, Tiberius, Constantine I, and Heraclius.⁵⁴ Scholars have long recognised the importance of these objects in the development of the Renaissance medal.⁵⁵ The popularity of the portrait medal in France grew towards the end of the fifteenth century, and there are accounts of such medals being produced for a number of important state occasions.⁵⁶ For instance, at the royal entry ceremony into Paris in 1498, the king received forty gold pieces in a gold cup. In Lyon, 1499, Anne of Brittany received a cup containing one hundred medals, and in Tours, 1500, the king was presented with a further sixty. There is also evidence to suggest these medals were made by the foremost artists of the day; a medal presented to the king at Bourges in 1505 was, for instance, the work of Antonio Giusto, or Juste, and the Tours medals were designed by Michel Colombe.⁵⁷

The portrait medal epitomised some of the basic values of the Renaissance. It demonstrated a connection to classical models, while ensuring immortality for the patron. By their very nature they were easy to replicate and could be widely distributed. As small, tactile objects, designed to be held, turned, examined, and read, they encouraged an intimate form of viewing with a select audience. The group of Spinelli portrait medals of Frenchmen were no doubt commissioned by Charles VIII to commemorate the success of the first French campaign in Italy.⁵⁸ Their purpose was both commemorative, propagandist, and self-congratulatory. They were, no doubt, treasured by the commanders themselves as tokens of the king's esteem, or reserved as gifts for use on diplomatic errands. Bérault's medal would have been a highly prized item, both for its workmanship and for the events it commemorated. Furthermore, a certain cachet would have been associated with owning a portrait executed by an Italian artist at this time.⁵⁹

The portrait medal is not the only representation of Bérault to survive, another is found

54 Of the gold medal-like objects, two Franco-flemish copies survive: the Constantine and Heraclius 'medals', both attributed to Michelet Saulmon. The Constantine medal is held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and the Heraclius medal by the British Museum, London. These copies were clearly widely known as they were copied by the Limbourg Brothers in the *Très Riches Heures*, and the *Belles Heures*, and were also reproduced in marble on the Certosa da Pavia, in Lombardy. c.1498. Scher, 1996.

55 Scher, 1996, 309-316. For the portrait medal in a broader context see: Hill, 1920; Hill, 1930; Scheller, 1983; Scher, 1994; Scher, 2000; Attwood, 2002; Chancel-Bardelot, 2004; Volz, 2008; Wolff, 2011.

56 Scheller, 1983, 83.

57 Scheller, 1983, 82-85; Paris, BnF, Cabinet des médailles, série royale 59, argent.

58 These portrait medals make an interesting comparison to a manuscript commission by François I in 1519. This manuscript similarly commemorates the portraits of François' favourite commanders and generals after the Battle of Marignano in 1515. These portraits, although painted, are medal-like in form and are some of the earliest examples of the painted portrait miniature from France. Godefroy le Batave, *Les Commentaires de la Guerre Gallique*. Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 13429, 1519.

59 A portrait of Charles d'Amboise originally attributed to the Milanese artist, Andrea Solario, is held at the Louvre, Paris, (inv. 674). It attests to the French appetite for portraits by Italian artists towards the end of the fifteenth century. For Solario's work at Gaillon for the d'Amboise family, see Béguin, 1985.

amongst the many drawings collected in the *Recueil d'Arras*.⁶⁰ Thought to be the work of the painter-herald, Jacques le Boucq of Valenciennes, the album was probably assembled during the 1560s for Alexander le Blancq of Lille.⁶¹ Many of the drawings appear to have been copied from existing sculptures, or paintings, and are executed in black or red chalk, occasionally retouched in ink. They generally represent influential Netherlanders of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, often identified by inscriptions below the portraits.

The first section of the *Recueil d'Arras*, f.5-25, depicts members of the French, English, and Scottish royal families and other foreign notables.⁶² On f.20 is a drawing in red chalk, bearing the inscription, 'Sire bernard stuart lord ostobenys escossois capitaine et gouverneur général de l'armée de Charles roy de france quant il ailla a Naples,'(2.5).⁶³ The portrait reveals an older and more portly figure than that depicted on the Spinelli medal. However, his Roman nose and round chin are recognisably similar to the features in the earlier profile portrait. The fleshier jowls and shorter hair show some of the changes to be expected after an interval of approximately thirteen years. During this period the active *man of war* of approximately forty-seven had aged into a general in his early sixties who had suffered sporadically from ill health and thus ceased to be as active on the field as he once was. He is depicted wearing a large hat and although we are shown nothing of his shoulders, his neck is framed by a large fur collar. The overall appearance is of a comfortable and well-to-do gentleman of advancing years.

The inclusion of this group of Scottish royals and nobles in the *Recueil d'Arras* requires some explanation.⁶⁴ Their presence may not be attributed to a voyage to Scotland by Jacques le Boucq himself, as there is no documentation to support this theory, and furthermore the timing precludes this hypothesis; Bérault died in 1508, and these drawings date to some years after this. It is more plausible that these drawings were copies of existing works executed by an earlier artist who had completed such a journey. In 1504-5 King James IV of Scotland sent a request to Andrew Haliburton, conservator of the privileges of the Scotch nation in the Netherlands, to send him a painter. Thus 'Piers the Payntour' arrived at the Scottish court in September 1505, remaining there until 1508.⁶⁵ Lorne Campbell has stressed that Haliburton was well placed to meet this royal request, having married the daughter of Sanders Bening, an influential manuscript illuminator from

60 *Recueil d'Arras*, Arras, Médiathèque d'Arras, ms. 266, f.20. Originally there would have been 308 drawings, 28 of which are now missing. Campbell notes that four of the missing folios were removed from the Scottish section of the manuscript. Campbell, 1996, 90.

61 Aulotte, 1968, 301.

62 Campbell, 1977, 302.

63 Châtelet, 2007, 193; Menzies, 1972, pl.7; Griffiths, & Thomas, 1985, 130.

64 Murdoch, 1915, 67-75; Beard, 1925, 5-15; Campbell, 1996, 89-103.

65 There are several mentions of *Piers the painter*, in the Treasurers Accounts of Scotland, for materials and payments. *Accounts Lord High Treasurer of Scot.* III: 1506-1507, li, xci, 171, 173, 325, 326, 350, 384, 385, 404, 387, 393, 402, 404. *Accounts Lord High Treasurer of Scot.* III: 1506-1507, 162.

Ghent.⁶⁶ During his time in Scotland, Piers and Thomas Galbraith, were actively involved in the preparations for the 1508 tournament of *the Wild Knight and the Black Lady*.⁶⁷ As part of these duties, he may have been instructed to record the portrait of the court's guest of honour and tournament judge: Bérault Stuart.⁶⁸ The other portraits included in this section of the album provide further evidence that the Scottish drawings were executed at approximately the time when Piers was resident at the Scottish court.⁶⁹

The series of Scottish portraits in the *Recueil d'Arras* are all executed in red chalk and are smaller in size than the other portraits in the album. A series of drawings, perhaps originally executed by Piers during his stay at the Scottish court, may have formed the basis for the later works copied by Jacques le Boucq into the collection of portraits he composed for Alexander le Blancq. While neither the Spinelli medal nor the *Recueil d'Arras* portrait of Bérault Stuart appear to have been commissioned by Bérault himself, they do nevertheless provide important visual evidence of Bérault's fame and high-reputation, both within France, and further afield. Each portrait commemorates an important historical event, and the part Bérault played within it. While the circumstances surrounding the inclusion of Bérault's portrait in the *Recueil d'Arras* remains hypothetical, it nevertheless firmly situates him among the most important Scottish, and in indeed European, faces of the day.

Central to understanding Bérault Stuart's patronage of the visual arts is an examination of his motivations, and an understanding of how he constructed, and projected, his self-image. The late-fifteenth century chroniclers unanimously described Bérault as 'natif d'ecosse,' despite the fact he was born in France, to a Scottish father, and a French mother. He certainly spoke French, and spent his career primarily serving the French court. However, as a commander of the Garde Écossaise, and as the grandson of one of the founding members of this corps, Bérault would have been keenly aware of the importance of his Scottish heritage. Furthermore, his close relationship to the Scottish court no doubt influenced and strengthened his perception of his national identity. But to what

66 Sanders Bening (1469-1519), may also have been of Scottish descent. Haliburton was related by marriage to Goswijn van der Weyden, grandson of Rogier van der Weyden. Furthermore, as Bening had married Catherine van der Goes, probably a relation of Hugo van der Goes, Haliburton was apparently connected to three of the greatest artistic families in the Low Countries at this time. Campbell, 1996, 89-103.

67 Mill, 1969, 56-7.

68 Just as the court poet, William Dunbar, immortalised Bérault in verse.

69 Before the drawing of Bérault are depictions of Margaret Tudor, James IV, and his illegitimate son, Alexander Stuart, after is a drawing of a 'Sandre aliberton' probably a relation of the aforementioned Andrew Haliburton. Alexander Stuart was born c.1493 and was made archbishop of St Andrews in 1504. He left Scotland and travelled to Italy in 1507. The drawing of James IV is of particular interest as it is very similar to a copy of a now lost watercolour made by Daniel Mytens for Charles I. The long lost 'Auncient water cullored peece' of James IV was recorded in the collection of Henry VIII. It suggests that Piers the Painter perhaps used this ancient watercolour portrait as a basis for his own portrait of James IV. Murdoch, 1915; Beard, 1925; and Campbell, 1996. 'A table with the picture of Jacobe king of Scotts with an hawke on his fist with oone curtan of yellow and white sarconet paned togethers.' Shaw, 1937, 46, 134; Millar, 1960, xxxvii, 4.

degree did Bérault actively promote his Scottish heritage and why was this important to him?

As previously mentioned, the banner used by Bérault and Robert Stuart d'Aubigny during their campaigns in Italy, featured a lion holding a sword, accompanied by the family war-cry, 'Avant Darnley'. On each side of the lion were two small banners, the right, bearing a shield with three lilies of France and a border of buckles, and the left bearing the arms of Stuart. The two were connected by a scroll bearing the motto 'Distantia Jungit', which translates as 'in unity though distant'.⁷⁰ As previously noted, the motto signified Bérault's role as the buckle securing the ties between Scotland and France. An examination of Bérault's impresa provides further evidence to support this reading of his emblem and motto.

The term *impresa* was generally used by sixteenth-century scholars to refer to a genre of pictographs closely related to the Renaissance emblem. It was often defined as being synonymous with the badge and the device, and as being a symbolic representation of a line of conduct, illustrated by means of a picture and a motto which reciprocally interpret one another, much in the same way as the reverse of the Renaissance portrait medal was often used to illustrate the conduct of the person depicted on the obverse. A well known quotation explaining *imprese* comes from the sixteenth-century historian Paolo Giovio, who mischievously claimed 'the *impresa* must not be so obscure that it needs a sybil to interpret it, but at the same time, it should not be so clear that every pleb may understand it'.⁷¹ The point Giovio makes is important: the role of an *impresa* was to be understood by those 'in the know' but not be readily understood by all who might see it. It acted like livery colours, or heraldry in asserting allegiance, yet was sufficiently playful in its juxtaposition of text and image to allow a certain degree of ambiguity and to encourage thought and discussion in its interpretation.

On page ninety-two of Giovio's *Dialogo dell'imprese*, of 1559, is an image of a lion rampant with a crown above its head, surrounded by buckles. A banner to each side, reads 'Distantia Jungit'. The accompanying explanation, below, clarifies the imagery. It reads:

'There was among the French, a virtuous and famous captain Hebrar Stuardo of renowned merit, scion of the royal blood of Scotland, and titled Monsieur d'Aubigny. This lord, as a kinsman of James the fourth, wore a lion rampant gules within a field argent, wherein were scattered many buckles within the borders of his tunic and his tabard, and depicted in his standards, with the latin motto Distantia Jungit, in signification of the fact that he was the means and the buckle wherewith were held united the king of Scotland and the king of France, in order to make a proper counterweight to the forces of the king of England, the natural enemy of the French and of the

⁷⁰ 'He unites things distant' or 'it joins things that were apart'.

⁷¹ 'Ch'ella non sia oscura di sorte ch'abbia mestiero della sibilla per interprete a volerla intendere, né tanto chiara ch'ogni plebeo l'intenda.' Giovio, 1559, 9; Lippincott, 2000, 75-83; Caldwell, 2000, 277-286.

Scots, '(2.6).⁷² The inscription provides unequivocal evidence, forty-seven years after Bérault's death, of an Italian reading of Bérault's impresa.⁷³ Furthermore, as Alistair MacDonald has already noted, he was probably the first Scot to have such a device.⁷⁴

Giovio's work contains the first set of rules for devising a flawless impresa. Within his broader discussion he refers to the two basic components as the image, defined as the body, and the word, equated with the more elevated position of the soul. He specifically extolled the ability of the impresa to encapsulate the personality of the subject it represented. Thus, Bérault's impresa drew attention to his unique position as the link between two nations: Scotland and France. His impresa was no doubt always intended to live on as a commemoration of his extraordinary position and diplomatic achievements.⁷⁵

Bérault Stuart's impresa employed the royal heraldic lion of Scotland as its focal point, to stress the shared ancestral blood which was highlighted by the accompanying text.⁷⁶ The use of buckles, or fermaillets, relates to the Stuart d'Aubigny heraldry.⁷⁷ This French line of the Stuarts of Darnley began to use the buckle in the early-fifteenth century, no doubt as a way of distinguishing themselves from the Scottish line of the same family. Three gold buckles on a red background became the town crest of Aubigny-sur-Nère, soon after it was granted to John Stuart of Darnley. It has been suggested the motif of the buckle originally derived from an earlier marriage between the Stuarts and the Bonkyl family in the thirteenth century.⁷⁸

The evidence provided in Giovio's work on the imprese of famed knights and princes of the

72 Giovio, 1559, 92. See with minor alterations the translation by MacDonald, 2001, 172.

73 Written in 1551, but published posthumously four years later, the *Dialogo* enjoyed wide diffusion, appearing in several editions in several languages. The first French edition appeared in 1561 and English in 1585.

74 MacDonald, 2001, 164.

75 In the impresa the main image was normally either a plant, animal, or celestial body with a particular quality. It was the function of the motto to make explicit the analogy between this quality and the bearer of the device. Therefore the porcupine used by Louis XII, with the motto '*Cominus et Eminus*', illustrated the animals perceived ability to shoot quills at its foe, in near and distant combat. François I's impresa bore a salamander representing impartiality, due to its legendary ability to live in the midst of flames by 'maintaining the good fire and extinguishing the evil.' The accompanying legend read: '*Nutrisco et exstinguo*'. Hochner, 2001, 17-36; Hochner, 2006; Lecoq, 1987, 35-52. The legend of the fire-proof salamander pre-dates François I. In Book X of his *Natural History*, Pliny wrote of salamanders; 'This animal is so intensely cold as to extinguish fire by its contact, in the same way that ice does.' Aristotle, in his *History of Animals*, of 350 B.C noted, 'Now the salamander is a clear case in point, to show us that animals do actually exist that fire cannot destroy; for this creature, not only walks through the fire but puts it out in doing so.' St. Isidore of Seville echoed these claims. Until recently the salamander was used as a symbol of fire-proof substances such as asbestos.

76 A form of the royal Scottish arms was first used by King William I in the 12th century. A register in the College of Arms in London describes the arms of the Kyng of Scottz as being a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counter-flory gules.

77 The Stuart d'Aubigny's were not alone in using the fermaillets in their heraldry. The Mallet Graville family also used this emblem and a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts connected to this family bear their arms, which are strikingly similar to the arms of Aubigny-sur-Nère. The fermaillets were based on the type of large round buckle originally used for securing tartans or other heavy fabric.

78 Bonner. 2011. 41, n.11. John Stuart of Darnley, Bérault's grandfather, descended from John Stewart who was married to Margaret Bonkyl and who died at the battle of Falkirk, on the 22 of July, 1298.

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries supports two ideas regarding Bérault Stuart; firstly his fame was such that the details of his insignia were considered worth recording alongside the greatest names of his day, and secondly he was remembered primarily for his role as the personification of a buckle uniting Scotland and France. He was, it would seem, the self-styled embodiment of the alliance between these two countries.

The evidence suggests Bérault Stuart was not merely an uneducated warrior, but displayed an interest in the visual arts and was keenly aware of his self-image. The following two sections will expand this point by examining Bérault as a bibliophile and as an author. Looking specifically, in this section, at Bérault's patronage of a French translation of Giles de Rome's *Liber de regimine principum*, (BnF, Ars. ms. 5062): the classic late-medieval textbook on good-government and statecraft.⁷⁹

Giles de Rome's *De regimine principum* was one of the best known examples of the medieval genre of the 'mirror for princes.' Such books advised the powerful on how to be a good Christian ruler, while conducting wars and issuing constitutions. Furthermore, Giles de Rome's text exerted influence in many fields, such as the theory of virtues and of passions. The treatise was originally written for, and dedicated to, Philip IV, c.1280. It passed through many editions and was translated into several languages. It was divided into three books: the first discussed the conduct of the king, the nature of happiness, the acquisition of virtues and the ruling of passions; the second dealt with family-life and household relations; the third considered the State, and the proper mode of governing in times of peace and war.

Each of the eight illuminated folios in Ars. ms. 5062 bear the same ornate version of the Stuart d'Aubigny arms, (2.7). The heraldry displays the arms of Stuart, quartered with the royal arms of France, and encircled by a collar of the Order of St Michael. The arrangement is supported on each side by a winged stag, and surmounted by a helm bearing a unicorn's head and two golden wings. The crest rests on a gold and azure torse, from which emanates a scalloped-edged mantle. The heraldic composition is depicted against a black background strewn with golden buckles.⁸⁰

The arms of Bérault may be seen on a seal attached to an indenture of the treaty of alliance between Charles VIII and James III, signed by Bérault on the 13 March, 1483-4, (2.9).⁸¹ This coat of arms, while very similar to that in the manuscript, differs in two respects: the two Stuart quarters are shown as complete chequered quarters rather than as a chequered band, and the border of buckles surround the Stuart arms on the seal, but encircle the arms of France in the manuscript. The

79 For BnF, Ars. ms. 5062, see: Berges, 1938, 322; Briggs, 1999, 16, 38, 39, 174; Contamine, 1999, 68; Gray, 1974, 29; Lauer & Martin, 1929, 61, pl. lxxxv; Schaefer, 1981, 143; Toynbee, 1951, 25.

80 All but one of the manuscript folios contains an elaborate decorative initial depicted in gold against a black background also strewn with gold buckles.

81 SP 7/16, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh. An almost identical version of Bérault's seal appears on a document dated 26 August, 1488, attached to a receipt for wages in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. A drawing of it appears in: Galbreath, 1948, 133, 140. Galbreath also records two further seals of Robert Stuart one dating to 25 August, 1515, and the second dating to 10 October, 1528, both in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

arms of Robert, Bérault's cousin and successor, are displayed on a roof boss adorning the vaulted ceiling of the church of St Martin, Aubigny-sur-Nère, (2.8). Robert, however, descended from a different branch of the Stuart family, and as such his coat of arms included those of Lennox; a saltire engrailed between four roses, superimposed in the centre of the Stuart of Darnley arms.⁸² This was a fundamental element of Robert's heraldry and one that precludes the identification of Robert as the patron of the manuscript, despite previous claims.⁸³ Reasons that the arms on Bérault's seal differ from those in the manuscript may relate to issues of clarity. In other examples of the arms of the Stuarts of Darnley, such as in the Scottish section of *the Armorial de Berry* by Giles le Bouvier, c.1450, the arms are depicted in the same configuration as on Ars. ms. 5062: a band of cheques and the buckles encircling the quarters with the arms of France, (2.10).⁸⁴ This suggests that the Stuart d'Aubigny family used both arrangements.

The elaborate crest surmounting the arms in the manuscript bears a unicorn. The unicorn had become a popular heraldic character by the late-fifteenth century, yet held a specific association to the Scottish court. It had first been adopted by James I, c.1426, when he appointed a Unicorn Pursuivant.⁸⁵ It made a further appearance as a royal symbol during the reign of James III, c.1484, when he struck gold coins called 'unicorns,' which bore a unicorn supporting a shield of the royal arms of Scotland.⁸⁶ Furthermore, he awarded an influential merchant from Bruges, Anselm Adornes, a collar with a unicorn pendant. This account has frequently been used by scholars keen to suggest Scotland had a chivalric *Order of the Unicorn*.⁸⁷ By the reign of James IV, the unicorn appears to be thoroughly entrenched in the Scottish royal heraldic tradition. An illumination of James IV kneeling in prayer displays an altar-cloth spectacularly emblazoned with the royal arms of Scotland encircled in a collar with a pendant of St Andrew, and supported by two unicorns, (2.11).⁸⁸ The unicorns are depicted with such prominence they seem almost as much of a symbol of James IV's court as the coat of arms itself.⁸⁹ By the end of the fifteenth century, the unicorn was thus a symbol readily

82 McAndrew, 2006, 282, 285

83 Lauer & Martin 1929, 61. Mentioned by Comminges, 1976, xl; Contamine, 1999, 68-69.

84 The arms in *the Armorial de Berry* differ only in that they lack the red scalloped border in the Stuart quarters.

85 The first Unicorn Pursuivant was John Fraser, *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot*, II, 57; McAndrew, 2006, 275-6; Stevenson, 2004, 3-22.

86 While imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in 1482, James III had occasion to give a charge which required the privy seal. In its absence he signed and sealed the document with his 'signet'- bearing a unicorn and with the legend 'TOUT A UNE'. James IV also wrote to one of his lords 'under oure speciale signet of the unicorne.' Dickinson, 1947-8, 26-27, 147; Stewart, 1967, 254-75.

87 Malden, 1988; Stevenson, 2004, 3-22.

88 Master of James IV, *Hours of James IV of Scotland*, Vienna, Österreichische National Bibliothek, Ms 1897, c.1502-3; Kren, & McKendrick, 2003, 371.

89 Another example of James IV's use of the unicorn is in the ratification of the marriage contract, (Scottish version), between James IV and Margaret Tudor, 17 December, 1502. An illuminated column to the left of the treaty bears an elaborately decorated 'J' entwined with thistles, roses, and marguerites. Below this, an image of the royal arms of Scotland is supported by unicorns above a grassy knoll growing thistles. London, Public Record Office, E39/81. Bowditch, 2002.

identifiable with the royal house of Scotland. In this context, its use by a prominent diplomat of Scottish descent would have been understood as a symbol of Bérault's connection to the court of Scotland. The background of buckles must surely have been read in the same light as those on Bérault's impresa, and the depiction of the collar of the Order of St Michael serves the same purpose as the inclusion of this collar in the portrait of Bérault on the Spinelli medal.⁹⁰

Noteworthy in the heraldic iconography of Ars. ms. 5062 are the winged stags employed as supporting beasts for the coat of arms. The winged stag had been an important heraldic symbol for the royal house of France since the reign of Charles VI. Several legends surround his adoption of this symbol. For example, Froissart recounts a story that the king dreamt of flying on a winged stag to recover a lost hawk.⁹¹ The use of winged stags in relation to Bérault's heraldry alludes to his close relationship to the French royal household. Furthermore, the symbol held a strong association to the concept of justice. Winged stags feature prominently, for instance, on the decorative wall-hangings in Fouquet's illumination of *Le lit de justice de Vendôme*, (2.12), and several large winged stags decorate the tympanum of the Palais de justice at Rouen. Bérault held the position of bailiff of Berry on two separate occasions, and it is possible therefore the use of this symbol related in-part to his judicial responsibilities.⁹²

Returning to Bérault's manuscript, approximately three hundred and fifty copies of Giles de Rome's *De regimine principum* survive in manuscript form today, making it one of the greatest survivors of non-religious work from the Middle Ages. The text enjoyed a wide circulation among royalty, aristocracy, urban bourgeoisie, and also among scholars and clerics. It was first translated into French by Henri de Gauchy in 1282. Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at least three other translations into French were made, each of these surviving today in only one manuscript. The latest of these was made in 1444, and was undertaken 'par ung frere de l'ordre des

90 Bérault's name is included in a list of the knights of this order in an Italian manuscript produced for Louis XII. The manuscript is a treatise on war and statecraft written by Johannes Angelus Terzone de Leoniss c.1500. The introduction to the work, states that it was dedicated to 'the Davidian and most Christian, Louis, King of France, Sicily and Naples'. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. Lat. 282. The author discusses the role of the Archangel Michael, as the patron of the Order and includes a copy of the order's statutes. It also includes a list of the members of the Order. In this slightly garbled list is 'Beroldus trovath Monsignore de benigno de la stirpe regia de Scotia'. F.5v of this manuscript includes an illumination of Louis XII kneeling before a crucifix. A banderole proclaims 'We are united in defence.' Below are eleven knights of the Order of St Michael, clad in armour, wearing laurel wreaths, and collars of the Order. From the arms of the crucifix hang a large version of the collar of the Order. *Codices Urbinales Latini*, 1902-1921, 256.

91 Raynaud, 1993, 256-58. For the development of stag iconography at the French court: Beaune, 1981, 128-29; Vaivre, 1982, 93-108; Bath, 1992; Bath, 1987, 7-9; Martin, 1948. The winged stag also had a long standing association with the house of Bourbon. In Giovio's, *Dialogo dell'impresa*, for instance, the connétable de Bourbon's impresa, features a winged stag and an explanation that such a devise might have warned of the Connétable's propensity to flight and thus of his desertion to the enemy side after the Battle of Pavia. Giovio, 1559, 11; Beaune, 1981, 139. The stag was also commonly associated with longevity. This was visually expressed in the iconography of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, where stags were frequently depicted pulling the chariot of Time.

92 See note 11.

freres Prescheurs par le commandement de tres puissant seigneur le conte Laval.' It is this version of the text that survives in Bérault's manuscript.⁹³

Ars. ms. 5062 was produced in Bourges at the turn of the sixteenth century. It contains eight illuminated miniatures, including one long-recognised as representing Bérault riding into battle. Contamine noted this scene deserved a careful iconographic examination, but that this had no place in his work. The study that follows is the first such examination of this manuscript.⁹⁴ This version of Giles de Rome's treatise is one of the latest to survive in manuscript form. Written c.1280, it must have already appeared old-fashioned by this time. During a period when the moral code of the medieval knight was being superseded by Renaissance thought, the medieval view of war must have increasingly seemed quaint in relation to modern developments in artillery and strategy. It is interesting therefore that Bérault considered such a work of sufficient interest to commission such a lavish version: Ars. ms. 5064 is one the most richly illuminated versions of the treatise to survive. The size of the manuscript, 408 x 280 mm, is above average for this work, again indicating a prestigious commission, produced with the desire to impress. The quality of the script and the extent of its illumination reinforce this view. This was a luxury manuscript, intended to delight, entertain, and instruct its readers.

The illuminations fall neatly into the textual divisions of the treatise. The first miniature is a standard image that occurs in many different versions of this work. It most frequently represents Giles de Rome presenting his work to a king, who is identified in the opening paragraph, as Philip IV. The opening text of Ars. ms. 5062 states that 'Cey commance le premier livre du gouvernement des princes fait de frère gilles romain de l'ordre des frères hermites de saint augustin,' confirming the author is the Augustine monk Giles de Rome. It then describes Philip as the born inheritor of a very proud and virtuous lineage, and by the grace of God, as a very noble king, (2.13). It proceeds by explaining that the text was written for royalty, but that the entire populace may nevertheless be educated by it, stressing that each person, regardless of birth, should strive to be worthy of ruling a kingdom or principality. In the illumination, Giles de Rome is depicted as an elderly man, with a tonsure of sparse grey hair, wearing an Augustinian habit. He is kneeling holding out an elaborately

93 Berges, 1938, 322; Briggs, 1999, 16, n.35. That the text was originally translated for the Laval family is interesting as there is a demonstrable link between this household and the Colombe atelier, who were also responsible for Bérault's manuscript. It is likely, therefore, that Bérault's manuscript follows a now lost version of this text illuminated by the same atelier for Laval at an earlier date. Delcourt has argued that Bérault's manuscript may have originally been commissioned by Louis de Laval himself, however, the date of the work, and the visual evidence specific to Bérault precludes this hypothesis. Delcourt's identification of the courtier standing next to the smaller monk on f.1r of Ars. ms. 5062, as Louis de Laval is, however, still plausible given that this translation was made for him. Delcourt makes this identification by comparing this figure with that of Laval in the presentation miniature of his copy of *Les passages d'outremer*, illuminated by Jean Colombe. Paris, BnF, fr. 5594, f.5r. Delcourt, 2009, vol 2, 20.

94 Contamine, 1999, 69.

bound manuscript. The king is depicted on a platform, seated under a canopy, all decorated with golden fleur-de-lis. The king wears a matching heraldic mantle with an ermine collar and an ornate gold crown. He is holding a scepter and wearing the collar of the Order of St Michael. To Giles de Rome's left is a second Augustinian monk, who is younger and depicted in approximately half the scale of the other figures, indicating his diminutive importance and status. This figure appears to represent the Augustinian monk who translated Giles de Rome's Latin text into French in 1444, as used in this manuscript. To the king's left and right are two groups of courtiers, all wearing the collar of the Order of St Michael, but none rendered formally identifiable through the use of heraldry or other forms of identifying insignia. While the scene in one sense represents Giles de Rome presenting his completed work to Philip IV, by depicting the figures in contemporary attire, the artist sought to situate this event in Bérault's own time. Furthermore, the foreground figure to the right of the composition appears so prominently placed, and dressed in such luxurious contemporary clothing, it is conceivable that to the original viewer, this figure would have been recognisable as the patron himself, i.e. as Bérault Stuart.⁹⁵

The next three illuminations each act as markers in the textual divisions of book one of the manuscript, focusing on *the government of self*. The image on f.17r depicts a finely painted scene of the four cardinal virtues, (2.14). The four key figures are labelled: 'PRVDENSE,' 'FORSE,' 'ATREPENSE,' and 'JVSTISE'. Prudence is depicted with two faces: a young female to the front, and an older male to the rear. She is gazing into an ornate mirror and standing on a serpent. Force is dressed in gold armour and holding a broken pillar. She is standing on a lion. Temperance is holding two gold jugs, one open, and one closed, traditionally representing the mixing of water and wine. Lastly Justice is dressed in golden armour, wearing a gold crown and holding a sword in her right hand, and scales in her left. Behind these figures stand a further eight females, all colourfully dressed and holding golden palm fronds. The palm frond was the traditional attribute of the holy martyr, however the absence of halos and the lack of any identifying attributes, suggest the fronds here are merely indicative of virtue. The figures thus represent the lesser virtues behind the four cardinal virtues.⁹⁶

Prudence holds a mirror representing reflection and the ability to see truth, she stands on a serpent typifying wisdom. Her representation with two faces may be understood as Prudence giving

95 By portraying the king wearing the collar of the Order of St Michael the artist implies that this figure represents the contemporary monarch. (This chivalric order was founded by Louis XI in 1469). The king's features appear, however, to represent an idealised face. It is not an obvious depiction of Louis XII (1498-1515).

96 Representations of the four cardinal virtues were especially common on funerary sculpture. For instance on the four corners of the monument of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, by Jean I Juste and his nephew, 1515-31, Abbey Church, St Denis, and on the tomb for the cardinals of Amboise, begun 1515, Rouen Cathedral.

to youth, the wisdom of old-age.⁹⁷ According to Giles de Rome's theory of the moral virtues, Prudence was the first of the four cardinal virtues and the foundation of princely behaviour. He stated that living a life of virtue should form a ruler's primary goal, and Prudence was the virtue most appropriate to a ruler as it directly facilitated the common good. The attributes of Force require no explanation and her significance as an emblem of strength, endurance, and fearlessness would have been, to a warrior such as Bérault, only too clear. Temperance was required to moderate the appetites and actions and her mixing of the jugs of water and wine were used to illustrate this.⁹⁸ She epitomised restraint and abstinence. Finally Justice is portrayed as a war-like virtue, armed and armoured. She made decisions by weighing the opposing forces of self-interest and the rights and needs of others. The attribute of a crown stressed that justice was a royal virtue.

Although there was a strong pictorial tradition for representing the four cardinal virtues in this way, there was not a visual tradition for illuminating this section of the treatise: to my knowledge only one other manuscript is thus illustrated.⁹⁹ A comparison may, however, be made between the four cardinal virtues found here and the same virtues illuminated in the calendar pages of the Monypenny Breviary, (2.15). This is a pertinent comparison as both manuscripts were illuminated in Bourges, at a similar time, and were commissioned by figures of Scottish descent who lived in the neighbouring towns of Concessault and Aubigny-sur-Nère, (Map 1). Furthermore, the two ateliers responsible for these works were closely linked. The artist responsible for illuminating Bérault's manuscript was a member of the Bourges-based Colombe atelier and may tentatively be identified with Jean Colombe's son, Philibert.¹⁰⁰ A comparison between the iconography of the cardinal virtues in Bérault's manuscript and those in the Monypenny Breviary

97 Other examples of this iconography for Prudence include a tondo by Luca Della Robbia, 1450-60, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and a corner figure on the tomb of Francis II of Brittany and his wife Marguerite de Foix, by Michel Colombe (designed by Perréal) 1502-7, Nantes Cathedral. Given the family connection between the brothers Michel Colombe (sculptor), and Jean Colombe (illuminator at whose workshop this manuscript was illuminated), it is very likely that this iconographic similarity is not coincidental. The dating of Bérault's manuscript to 1500 rules out the possibility of the illuminator taking direct inspiration from the tomb at Nantes. Perhaps, however, the same iconography was used by Michel Colombe in an earlier work, or perhaps both strands of the Colombe family had access to a similar iconographic source. It is tempting to see the direction of influence going from sculpture to illumination given the popularity of the subject of the virtues in funerary statuary at this time.

98 This iconography provides a visual reminder of the root of *temperare*: to mix in due proportion, combine properly, moderate, regulate.

99 Paris, BnF, ms. fr.1202, a fifteenth-century French translation of Giles de Rome's work. Isabelle Mangou at the BnF deemed this miniature too fragile to photograph so no image of it could be included here.

100 Dating Ars. ms. 5062 to c.1500, rules out the direct involvement of Jean Colombe who died before 1498. His grandson François Colombe may be ruled out on stylistic grounds. If you compare, for instance, François' depiction of female faces, such as those in his only signed work, *History of the Destruction of Troy*, Paris, BnF. ms. n.a.f. 24920, with those in Bérault's ms, the difference is clear. From the closely connected Montluçon atelier, Jean de Montluçon, may be ruled out as he died in 1494. Furthermore a comparison with images attributed to both Jacqueline de Montluçon and the *Maître de Monypenny*, make it clear that neither of these two artists were responsible for Bérault's work either. One manuscript which I believe to be the work of the same artist is a Book of Hours, use of Bourges, and dated to c.1500, held at the Library of Philadelphia, Ms. Lewis E 86. Other similarities may be seen in images in the *Romuleon*, Ms. 78 D 10, Berlin. That the text of Bérault's manuscript was initially translated for Louis de Laval supports a connection to the Colombe atelier.

demonstrate not only that these artists worked in a similar iconographic tradition, but they were also very close in style.¹⁰¹ Giles de Rome wrote that the function of the political community was more than merely to live, it was to live well, and to live well was to live according to virtue. He believed the character of the king would determine the character of his people, and thus a king must secure the common good by serving as an exemplar of virtue to his subjects. This was no doubt the root of the message that the artist was instructed to communicate.

The illumination that follows that of the virtues is unusual and finds no direct comparison in other versions of this treatise. It reflects the originality and intellectual rigour of either the patron, artist, or deviser of the visual program for Bérault's manuscript. The image is an ingenious visual explanation of the accompanying theoretical discussion regarding the Passions, (2.16). The scene is set in an elaborate wood-panelled interior. Through a series of decorative pillars the viewer is invited to look out over a distant, blue, rolling landscape. In the room there is an arrangement of six wooden steps on which are seated twelve figures in two opposing sets of six. They are labelled: 'AMOVVR – HAINE'; 'DESSIR – ABHOMILIACION'; 'DELECTACIO – TRISTESSE'; 'CRAITE – AVDACE'; 'IRE – MESVETVDE'; 'ESPERANCE – DESPERACION.' The six pairs therefore represent the opposing passions. Love and Hate; Desire and Abhorrence; Joy and Sadness; Fear and Audacity; Wrath and Moderation; Hope and Despair. The two sets of figures are visually separated into the *good* or the *bad* passions, suggested by the figures' dress, expressions, and actions.

Love is depicted as a male figure, dressed in a finely embroidered green and gold tunic. He wears a wreath of small flowers, and holds his right hand over his heart. In contrast Hate is a female. She is bare-foot and dressed in a plain pink robe with a white head scarf. She looks away from the other figures with her arms crossed in her lap. Desire is a finely dressed male, wearing similar garb to the courtiers in the first image. With his left hand he points towards Love, while looking at his opposing passion. Abhorrence is also male. He wears torn grey rags and bears an expression of disgust. His body is marked by sores and is turned towards Hate. Delectation is very close to Desire in appearance. Again he is male, dressed in sumptuous robes and courtly head-ware. His right hand presses against his left arm. He looks across at Sorrow, a female figure dressed in much the same way as Hate. She has a swooning posture, with her right hand to her forehead and a pained expression on her face.

The next two opposing figures are not the typical personifications one might expect. The *good* passion is a female personification of Fear, and the *bad*, a male personification of Audacity.

¹⁰¹ These examples of the cardinal virtues from Bourges in the late-fifteenth century do not follow the so-called *New Iconography of the Virtues*. A peculiar French iconographic tradition that saw a complex system of attributes develop for these figures. See: Tuve, 1963, 1964, and 1966.

Fear is presented as a young Augustinian nun, hands clasped in prayer. Her opposing passion Audacity is a male official or councillor, dressed in the archetypal robe and hood of a man in that office. The arrangement of these passions is explained in the text. Two aspects of Giles de Rome's work stand out in this regard; firstly, that virtue arose from a fear of God, and secondly, that faith was the foundation of Justice. It is clear in this light that the *good* passions are those that inspire one to be virtuous, while the *bad* passions are those which might hinder those virtues. Thus the nun is depicted as personifying a fear that stimulates virtuous deeds. As the only religious figure, she also reminds the viewer that faith is fundamental to virtue. While audacity might be thought of as a virtuous trait in some circumstances, here it is shown as a headstrong and foolhardy passion which might precipitate corrupt actions.

Another unexpected arrangement is the depiction of Wrath on the *good* side and Moderation on the *bad*. Wrath is a male figure dressed in fine courtly clothing. He looks to the ceiling with a resigned expression as he stabs himself in the chest. Blood gushes to the floor. His opposing passion Moderation is a fair-haired woman, who watches him expressionlessly. Giles de Rome followed Thomas Aquinas in highlighting wrath as a worthy passion: certainly when anger ceased to be useful it became a sin and required correction, however anger might also be seen as a desire for good and a natural wish for justice. In this context wrath was promoted as a passion closer to good than to bad.¹⁰² The personification of wrath as male is found in many late-medieval depictions of the seven deadly sins. For instance in a copy of Vincent of Beauvais', *Speculum Historial*, anger is portrayed as a male figure, wearing courtly dress, stabbing another, (2.17). The notion of anger as a natural and legitimate emotion was no doubt an attractive concept to those involved in situations of power and conflict such as Bérault.¹⁰³

On the highest step are Hope and Despair. Hope is a young woman, finely dressed, with long, fair, hair. She looks downwards without expression. Despair is an older woman, dressed plainly with a knotted white headscarf. Her mouth is open to indicate choking: she is pulling a noose tight around her neck. Giles de Rome notes in his treatise that the passions of hope and despair take pride of place. The artist or the patron has here devised an effective solution to visually portraying the complex theoretical notion of human passions and their influence over our actions.

102 The iconography for wrath stems from the tradition of Psychomachia, (Battle of Souls), by the late-antique Latin poet, Prudentius, in which Wrath or Ira was shown as a wild-looking woman who plunged a sword into her own body because she was unable to get the better of Patientia (patience, forbearance). This type of iconography was prevalent in early-medieval manuscripts, cathedral statuary, and frescos. For instance see: Anger fatally pierced by her own spear, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Ms.Cod. 264. f. 40r; Anger committing suicide, on a capital in the choir of Notre-Dame-du-Port, Clermont-Ferrand; A wild representation of Anger on a 12th Century capital in the nave of Sainte-Madeleine, Vézelay; and lastly Patience dominating Anger on a 12th C capital at the Church of Saint-Lazare, Autun. Rosenwein, 1998; Barton, 2005.

103 Giles de Rome explained that for kings and princes, wrath was not a bad passion as it could be used as an instrument of reason.

The illumination that follows is again an original composition, (2.18). The image marks the opening of the last section of first book, the habits of the different ages of man. It shows three men standing in line, facing a personification of fortune. Fortune is female, her face painted half black and half white. She is in an elaborately decorated building and is seated upon an ornate wooden throne. She holds a large wooden wheel with her left hand, and while glancing down at the figure closest to her, she points at him with her right. In representing Fortune, the artist has drawn on a well-known iconographic type, whereby her duality and unpredictability is emphasised by her bipartite colouring. This particular representation of Fortune demonstrates strong similarities to images of Fortune produced by Jean Colombe towards the end of the fifteenth century, (2.19). From the left, the figures are labelled: 'NOBLESSE,' 'PUISSANCE,' and 'RICHESSSE', representing nobility, power, and wealth. Nobility is dressed in an elaborately embroidered gold robe, with a broad fur-trim around the neck and wrists. He wears a golden crown, holds a sceptre with his right hand, and gestures downwards with his left. Power is dressed in black armour, holds a pike in his right hand, and looks upwards towards Fortune. Wealth is key to the composition. Standing closest to Fortune and wearing courtiers dress, he reaches into a large red and gold money pouch which he holds to his waist. His expression is slightly sulky as Fortune points forcefully downwards towards the symbol of his wealth.

Giles de Rome's text is quick to point out wealth is the by-product of good fortune and is not the reward of wisdom. Therefore the wealthy must remember that Fortune is responsible for their privileged position in life. Furthermore, it suggests that the craving for excessive wealth is unnatural and against reason. The text makes clear kings and princes should attempt to forsake ill manners, such as vileness, greed, and intemperance. Also that all wealth should be employed in the service of the common good, and in the creation of great works in the service of God. Lastly he suggests that those men who are rich in gold and silver often lack the might and power to use it well. Given Giles de Rome's thoughts on the manners of men, the artist's intentions in this illumination becomes obvious. Nobility, Power, and Wealth all stand before Fortune acknowledging their debt. Nobility and Power possess good manners that do not offend Fortune, however, Wealth is singled out for his dubious character. Fortune reminds him she is responsible for his wealth, and thus he digs into his purse no doubt in order to use his wealth in the service of God or to facilitate the common good.

Book two of the treatise, addressing the governance of family, begins on f.81. For the first illumination in this section, the artist or patron has chosen the discussion on how houses should be built firmly, in a healthy atmosphere (2.20). This scene is not unusual in Giles de Rome's treatise. A similar example may be seen, for instance, in a mid-fifteenth century version of the work now in

Brittany (2.21). An unusual aspect of the illumination in Bérault's manuscript is however its location, replacing the more commonly found theme in this early section of book two: a king governing his family and servants. An example of the type of composition often used to illustrate this part of the text is found in a fourteenth-century French version of the treatise (2.22).¹⁰⁴ It shows a king on his throne pointing sternly towards his wife, two children, and a servant. That Bérault's manuscript omits any visual representation of this section is in keeping with what we might already suspect regarding Bérault's priorities. The historical documentation surrounding Bérault's life makes clear he spent much of his adult life away from his family, either at war, or on diplomatic errands. It is likely therefore, his wife, Anne de Maumont, had more experience of governing his household. Such a suggestion would go some way to explaining why Bérault felt it unnecessary to emphasise this section of the text with images. Further differences between f.81 and the other versions of this pictorial theme includes the omission of a royal presence. In other versions of this scene we see the king overseeing his labourers, in Bérault's manuscript however, the scene is observed by noblemen only.

The illumination on f.149v marks the end of book two, illustrating the opening chapter in book three, on the establishment of towns and cities, (2.23).¹⁰⁵ The image shows a clean, prosperous, and well-ordered market town, neatly illustrating the evolution of urban space towards the end of the Middle Ages. The organisation of the town was closely connected to the concept of good government. In the left foreground there is a shop with two tailors busy at work stitching and cutting garments. To the right is an apothecary, which, most unusually for this period, proudly displays a written sign 'bo(n) ypocras'. The apothecary displays various dishes probably containing spices, elaborately modelled clay jars, and a large mound of refined sugar, a luxury product imported from the orient.¹⁰⁶ Behind the apothecary is a barber-shop, advertising its profession by hanging barber's plates from a bracket attached to the shop wall. A man is being shaved while facing out onto the street. Behind the barber is a furrier, showcasing lengths of grey and brown fur, alongside animal tails hanging from the shop-front. The market street is paved and scrupulously clean, and in the centre of the arrangement two well-dressed courtly figures converse with an elegant hound at their feet. A very similar illumination is found in a French translation of this text

104 For other examples of this composition: B.L. Harley 4385, f.59v; BnF. ms. fr. 573, f. 226; Initial in Cambridge University Library Ms. F.f. 3.3. f. 67r.

105 This is perhaps the only well known image in this manuscript. Due to its unusually detailed depiction of a late medieval market square it has often been used in to illustrate articles on markets, commerce, and urban-life in France in the late-middle ages. It is rarely however mentioned in relation to the specific circumstances of its commission and production. Lauer & Martin, 1929, 61; Clark, 2000, 65; Prigent, 1999, fig. 2; Boone, 2002, 113; Kirkby, Nash, & Cannon, eds. 2010. BnF website <http://classes.bnf.fr/ema/groplan/flashes/rue/index.htm>.

106 Sugar, rare and expensive, was considered a medicinal product at this time. Newman. 2001. 31; Lindemann. 2010; York. 2012, 175.

produced in Flanders c.1450, (3.24). This version, however, includes Philip IV in discussion with Giles de Rome in a separate interior. The similarity between these two images suggests an established pictorial tradition for illuminating this section of the text. The illumination that follows this is situated at the start of the second part of book three of the manuscript and represents a court room scene, (2.25). This illustrates the section of text concerning civil government. This type of parliamentary scene was not unusual in illuminations of this period, often showing the chancellor in the centre, a secretary writing at a desk in front of him, with various councillors and officials lining the walls. This particular scene is likely to have held personal associations for Bérault, who twice held the official position of bailiff of Berry in the years prior to the production of this manuscript.¹⁰⁷

The last, and in many ways the most fascinating, illumination in Bérault's manuscript is on f.203v, (2.26). The illumination is situated at the beginning of the third part of the third book and illustrates the section of text discussing government in times of war. The illumination represents Bérault riding a richly caparisoned white horse and holding aloft a baton of command. He is riding in front of a large group of mounted soldiers and behind a group of Scottish archers, whom Fleuranges noted were nearest to the king and 'sous la charge Sieur d'Aubigny'.¹⁰⁸ While these archers are not dressed as Fleuranges described, in white jerkins, they are nevertheless dressed in garments bearing, as Giovio described, a lion rampant... 'wherein were scattered many buckles in the borders of his tunic and his tabard,' (2.27).¹⁰⁹ Each of the Scottish archers rides resting a bow on his right shoulder and wearing a quiver of arrows strapped to his right side. Each group also holds aloft a pennon, displaying a red lion rampant on a gold background, with streams of Aubigny buckles decorating the pennon's tails.

Bérault is dressed in black armour, highlighted in gold, and wears a red hat. His horse bears an ornate chamfron, and is covered in a finely-detailed and extravagant caparison with matching decorative reins. The cloth is predominantly gold in colour, and decorated with turquoise roundels and medallions. The medallions are decorated with images of doves and sunbursts, the Visconti-Sforza emblem of the Milanese court, no doubt a reference to Bérault's appointment to the position of governor of Milan in 1500, (2.28).¹¹⁰ The depiction of a richly caparisoned white horse brings to

¹⁰⁷ See note 11.

¹⁰⁸ See note 15.

¹⁰⁹ See note 72.

¹¹⁰ Bérault was appointed governor of Milan by Louis XII, jointly with Charles d'Amboise, in 1500. At this time Bérault resided in the house of Antonio Landriani in Borgonuovo. He was also made lieutenant general to the king. *Lettres de Charles VIII*, 1896, II, 399, 421; Auton, 1889-1895, I, 12-13, 313, n. 23. The Visconti symbol was a radiant sun bearing a turtle-dove with a scroll with the motto 'a bon droyt' meaning *with good right* or *to the good belongs the right*. This was the personal emblem of Giangaleazzo Visconti, and was said to have been devised for him by Petrarch on the occasion of his first marriage in 1360 to Isabelle of Valois, who as part of her dowry brought Giangaleazzo the county of Vertus, Champagne, together with the title count of Virtues. In the *Canzon morale fatta per la divisa del conte di Virtú*, 1389, Giovanni de Vannozzo, (the court poet), explained the symbol as follows: the radiant sun represents Giangaleazzo's power reaching out to all, the dove represents humility and chastity, and the

mind the gift of a 'coursier griz, bien puissant, moult viste, et tres leger a la main, aveques les bardes tant riches et belles que chascun en fist spectacle de merveilles,' which he received from Pope Alexander VI in 1501.¹¹¹ The facial features of the figure on the horse show a slight similarity to the image of Bérault on the Spinelli medal. The strong profile with a prominent nose and slightly pouting mouth are analogous, and the shoulder length hair also bears comparison, however direct reference to the portrait medal is difficult to demonstrate with any certainty (2.29). The manuscript contains such precise contemporary iconographic details it is probable that Bérault provided minute instructions regarding the iconography. What then may have prompted Bérault to commission this manuscript, and what message would it have been used to convey to those to who viewed it?

Following Bérault's ambassadorial visit to Rome in 1501, he subsequently conquered and was made governor of Naples. In relation to this episode Pitscottie made the following observation:

'At the king of France's command passit to the realme of Napillis, and thair was maid regent and gowernour of the samin quho rullit it so witht wisdome and gentillnes, that he wan the heartis of the pepill of the said realme and pepill thairof; they obeyit him and loveit him so weill that he was callit be the frinchemen the pittie roy of Napillis. At this the king and consall of France was not content thairto, thinkand that [as] he was ane Scottisman, he thocht that he wald wsurpt the croune of Napillis wnto himself; and for this cause devyssit ane great lord in France to pase and be equall witht the said Monser Deobanie in all autorietie and powar in governance of the said realme of Napillis.' later he notes with some relish that 'bot this frenche lord quha was left in naples gowernour eftir munseur Deobanies pairting the peopill rais and rebellit agains him and chessit him out of the cuntrie. And this the king of france gat for his suspitioun that he burie towards monsieur deobanie he tint the heill realme of naples for defait of guid gowernement.'¹¹²

This passage is interesting when read in connection with Bérault's manuscript for several reasons. Firstly it suggests Bérault was a very efficient governor of Naples, to the extent that jealousies and rivalries surfaced among other commanders in the French army. It suggests that while the Garde Écossaise was in the service of the French Crown, Louis XII harboured some reservations about giving such power and influence to a Scot in the name of France. It also suggests Bérault himself held almost princely ambitions, and had such an appetite for power that it resulted in him appearing as a threat to members of the French court. It is easy to see how Bérault would have been offended by the French king posting the young and inexperienced Louis d'Armagnac to Naples to take up command of a territory which Bérault's forces had taken, and were at this time

azure background denotes serenity. Each part had a Christological parallel: the sun = Christ, azure = heaven, and the dove = the Holy Ghost. Bérault's use of this emblem is puzzling. He may have been granted some dispensation to use this emblem.

¹¹¹Auton, 1889-1895, II, 34.

¹¹² Lindsay of Pitscottie, 1899, 241-242.

successfully governing. While Auton does not make explicit the reason for the king's actions he does nevertheless mention both Bérault's umbrage, hinting he was justified in these feelings, and also that there had developed some sort of division among the heads of the French army, noting that this was a dangerous thing that could only result in an unhappy end.¹¹³ While it must be borne in mind that Pitscottie's work is not always accurate, it would seem that the outline of what he suggests took place, in this instance, is to a large degree correct, and the reasons he states are certainly plausible.

This episode allows us to draw a number of conclusions. Firstly, Bérault had a demonstrable interest and proven track-record in the affairs of statecraft. He was noted as an efficient and well-liked governor and, as such, Giles de Rome's treatise on good government would have been appealing to him. Secondly, it allows us to speculate as to why the illuminations in Bérault's manuscript should consistently avoid depicting a king governing his virtues, household, or cities. It is likely Bérault commissioned this manuscript to reflect his own experiences of government. It was not a homage to the king's power but a personal book of instruction to remind Bérault of his duties as a man of considerable power and influence. In this respect it no doubt pandered to his ego by depicting courtiers, such as Bérault, in situations one would expect to see the king. Thirdly, this manuscript was commissioned to reflect Bérault's experiences and aspirations regarding his career as lieutenant-general for Louis XII. It was not a reflection of his home-life, thus the areas of the text he sought to stress were the areas of which he had direct working experience. He clearly considered the governance of his family-life in France less relevant to this commission than the experiences he had gained in Italy. Despite the fact that by the time Bérault commissioned this manuscript the text was undoubtedly old-fashioned, Bérault considered it pertinent enough to lavish large sums on its reproduction. He clearly recognised in the work some reflection of his own duties and aspirations, and saw it as a fitting legacy to be remembered by.

Returning to the equestrian portrait on f.203v, thirteen turquoise roundels decorate the reins and the horses caparison. All but one bear the letters 'GZ', while the roundel central to the horses flank bears the letters 'DM,' (2.30). A comparison between the caparison with a battle standard collected in Milan in the early-sixteenth century explains the significance of these letters, (2.31).¹¹⁴The initials on the battle standard read 'IO' 'GZ' 'DX' 'MI' 'ST' standing for, *Iohannes*

113Auton, 1889-1895, II, 92-98. 'Obeissance fut faict totalementement audit visroy, sans ce que autre se entremist des affaires de Naples; dont le Sire d'Aubigny, voyant la peine qu'il avoit eue et la dilligence qu'il avoit mise a conquerer ledit pays, ne ce peust de ce bonnement contanter: qui fut ja ung commencement de division entre les chefz de l'armée : ce qui est une chose si dangereuse a soustenir, que, a ce moyen, toutes entreprises de guerre viennent a maleureux effect.'

114 Crolot, 1943, 16, 'Etendard de Jean-Galéas Sforza, duc de Milan'; Cambin, 1987, 382-3, xxxiii, 'Stendardo di Gian Galeazzo Sforza'.

Galeazzo Dux Mediolani Strenuissimus. A comparison between these roundels and those on Bérault's equestrian portrait suggests the artist responsible either had access a similar example of Milanese iconography or to a detailed description of such an item. The comparison identifies the predominant letters on Bérault's caparison as 'GZ,' for Galeazzo and 'DM,' for Dux Mediolani or Duke of Milan. Several members of the Visconti-Sforza family used the initials 'GZ' often in conjunction with 'DM,' (2.32). It is likely the use of this Milanese insignia referred to Gian Galeazzo Sforza, the recently deposed sixth Duke of Milan. Bérault no doubt intended this miniature to be understood as a celebration of the French victory over the Milanese in general, and Bérault's role in the victory in particular. By presenting himself riding on a horse cloaked in Milanese heraldry, he wished to make a point regarding his appointment as governor of Milan, and his position of control over Milanese affairs. The image may also be read as making a more specific point regarding Gian Galeazzo Visconti and the means by which the French could claim their right to Milan. Louis XII made this claim through his paternal grandmother Valentina Visconti, the daughter of Gian Galeazzo and Isabelle of Valois. The *sol-cum-columba* motif was said to have been designed by Petrarch for this marriage in 1360. Its use in this instance makes reference to the eventual result of this marriage: the French conquest of Milan in 1500. As has already been mentioned, a letter from Ludovico Sforza to his secretary, Bartolommeo Calco, recorded that Bérault lodged in the Duchess of Bari's apartments on his visit to Milan in 1491.¹¹⁵ From this we know that Bérault would have been familiar both with the *sol-cum-columba* insignia, which covered the ceiling of the *Camera delle columbine*, and with the heraldic devises decorating the *Camera dei ducali*. The gold and black bands on the edge of the horse's caparison make reference to the livery colours of the Scots archers, yet are also found frequently in the iconography of the house of Sforza.¹¹⁶ The artist, no doubt with precise instructions from his patron, has created an image filled with very specific Milanese iconography. The image presents Bérault to the viewer as both commander of the Scots guard and as conqueror of Milan.

Comparative examples of a horse's caparison used to communicate a particular message can be found in a number of French illuminations from this period. An equestrian portrait prefacing a copy of the *Romuleon*, for instance, includes the text 'CHAUIGNI CHEVALLIER' written on the hem of the horses caparison, (2.33). In this instance a note at the back of the manuscript records 'Monseigneur de Chauvigny gave me, Philippe du Moulin, this book in the town of Lyon in the year

¹¹⁵ See note 14.

¹¹⁶ An entry in the 1544 inventory of the château at Aubigny indicates that these livery colours were still in the possession of the Stuart d'Aubigny family at this time and still recognised as the colours of the company of archers, 'une saye de livree noir et jaulne de la compaignye.' Many other fabric items listed in the inventory employ this colour scheme indicating that it was extensively used by the Stuart d'Aubigny family. Bonner, 2011, 94.

1498,' settling any doubts we may have had about who owned the book and who commissioned it.¹¹⁷ This manuscript makes a pertinent comparison with Ars. ms. 5062, as de Chauvigny was a governor of the province of Berry and was likely to have been acquainted with Bérault. Furthermore, the manuscript is contemporary to Ars. ms. 5062, and was, perhaps, a product of the same atelier or artist. The equestrian portrait in the *Romuleon* is very similar in style to that in Bérault's manuscript.¹¹⁸ Schaefer has already established that the text on the horse's caparison refers to the Chauvigny family war-cry 'Chauvigny, Chevaliers Pleuvent,' which has its pseudo-historical origin in the time of Andre I de Chauvigny and the third crusade in 1190.¹¹⁹ Here, text and heraldry were thus used to identify the patron, extol the virtues of his family, and ensure that he was forgotten neither by the beneficiary of this gift, nor by history in general.

The specific iconographic device of illustrating the heraldic insignia of a conquered territory on the caparison of an equestrian portrait more properly belong, however, to the realm of royal iconography. The conflation of an equestrian portrait and heraldic symbolism was commonly used to indicate a king's acquisition of territory, or to the right to such territory.¹²⁰ An illumination in a manuscript produced in Genoa for the French governor, Francois de Rochechouart in 1510 is a good example, (2.34).¹²¹ The opening miniature shows an equestrian portrait of Louis XII dressed as a chef de guerre. The illumination is monochrome, with colour only used for the heraldic details. This technique highlights the importance of a heraldic interpretation of the image. Louis' horse bears a caparison decorated in his iconography of the porcupine and the letters 'L,' and 'A,' for Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. He is situated under an open pavilion, adorned with fleur-de-lis. The interior is strewn with fleur-de-lis and the Milanese biscie. Medallions in the border of the image show the nine worthies illustrated in the form of Renaissance portrait medallions. The image presents Louis as deserving of the title of tenth worthy, no doubt due in part to his successful conquest of the duchy of Milan.

The use of heraldry in royal equestrian portraits was thus frequently employed to demonstrate expansionist ambitions. Yet this use of such visual claims to foreign lands was certainly less common in non-royal circles. Bérault was far from alone among his peers in wishing to use an equestrian portrait to make both a personal and political statement. Bérault's statement

117 Philippe du Moulin would also have known Bérault having fought along side him in Italy.

118 The draughtsmanship of both horses is very similar, as are the peripheral horses. The composition of the central character brandishing a baton of command, and of the backing riders displaying heraldic flags, are also similar. The depiction of armour particularly the foot as it sits in the stirrup and the joint of the knee also bears comparison.

119 Schaefer, 1981, 138.

120 Equestrian portraits in France evolved a strong tradition in sculpted equestrian portraiture, often employed to decorate palaces and châteaux. For instance, the life-size equestrian statue of Louis XII at Blois (known through drawings), and the equestrian portrait adorning Jacques Coeur's Palace at Bourges. (known through a miniature in the *Hours of Jacques Coeur*; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Lat. 10103, fol. 148v-9).

121 Scheller, 1985; Tolley in Wood, 2007, 162-3.

was, however, certainly bold; depicting himself as a decidedly king-like, conqueror of Milan. It would seem likely Bérault commissioned Ars. ms. 5062 in celebration of his appointment to the position governor of Milan. It is clear from the letter he wrote on the 30 June, 1500, to Nicolò Michiel, that he was proud and flattered by this appointment. The historical documentation suggests if he did take up the reins of this position in any practical sense, that this was short-lived, as by May 1501, he had received orders to move on through Rome to commence the conquest of Naples. That his manuscript shows no indication of his exploits in the kingdom of Naples, would suggest that it was commissioned in 1500, or early in 1501, after his successful conquest of Milan, but before his deployment further South. There can be little doubt that the purpose of the manuscript was to celebrate his military success in Italy, and act as a portable piece of visual propaganda that might be shown to influential friends and acquaintances both in France and abroad. It may even have accompanied him on his diplomatic errands to Scotland, where, as we have already seen, tales of his Italian adventures sparked the imagination of the Scottish court.

Bérault would appear to have taken great care to ensure the central themes illustrated in his manuscript bore a direct relationship to his working experiences. His, perhaps slightly old-fashioned, principles of the great importance of chivalric ideals were given prominence throughout the illuminations in the manuscript. Furthermore, he was clearly keen to cement his personal fame and pride regarding his Milanese exploits in the final image in the work - his equestrian portrait. So while this form of blowing-ones-own trumpet was not out of place, this particular manuscript may be seen as a brazen example, and perhaps contributed to the perception of Bérault as a man of such reputation and such self-importance that he might just usurp a crown, taken in the name of France, unto himself!

Evidence of Béraults patronage of the visual arts fits well with the historical accounts of his career. His interest in chivalry and statecraft are exemplified by his patronage of Ars. ms 5062. His commitment to his military career, and the successes it brought, are celebrated in visual evidence such as the Spinelli medal, and his impresa. Further evidence of Bérault's literary patronage builds upon this theme and highlights the qualities that helped Bérault become one of the most renowned knights of his time. A composite manuscript, which was in Bérault's possession c.1500, provides further evidence of Bérault's literary tastes, his connoisseurship, and his preoccupation with his own national identity.

Ms. fr.166. held at the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva, is a work composed of four parts: the *Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, (f.1-81), dating to the 4 September, 1464, followed by the so-called *Vraie cronique d'Escoce*, (f.82-90), a short text, *Le droit que le roy Charles VIII pretend ou royaume de Naples*, (f.91), and finally the *Histoire légendaire de sainte Hélène*, (f.91v-93).¹²² The *Vraie cronique d'Escoce* appears to have been appended to the original manuscript some years after it was produced, and the two last texts were added in the 1490s at the earliest. It is clear the first text of this manuscript was originally intended for Richard Neville, or *Richard the Kingmaker*, as it is accompanied by a fine Burgundian illumination that includes, in its border, the Earl of Warwick's coat of arms, encircled by the garter and his emblem: the bear and ragged staff, (2.35).¹²³ This work is important for historians of English manuscript patronage of this period, as it is the only manuscript to survive that can certainly be associated with Warwick.¹²⁴ There is evidence, however, that the manuscript, while certainly produced for Warwick perhaps as a gift, never made it into his possession. While it was commissioned for him in Flanders in 1464, it is unlikely to have ever reached England. If it had, the manuscript would almost certainly have entered, and stayed in an English collection; and as the latter appended texts testify, it was in France or Flanders in late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, evidence suggests that it was instead in the possession of Bérault Stuart.

The opening folio of the *Vrai cronique d'Escoce*, is decorated with a crudely executed coat of arms of the royal house of Scotland, (2.36). The text must have been written after December 1463, and on the final page of the chronicle is an inscription, in a different hand, relating to its

¹²² The manuscript is dated on f.81.

¹²³ Warwick became a knight of the Garter in 1460.

¹²⁴ Sutton, & Visser-Fuchs, 1997, 30.

provenance.¹²⁵ The inscription, probably early-sixteenth century in date states the following: '*Ce lyvre me bailla monsr d'Aubegny, et fut fet par ung grant clerc escosois nomme Irlandia nory a Paris lonc tamps.*'¹²⁶ This reveals that the owner of the chronicle at this time was a member of the Stuart d'Aubigny family and judging by the dates, was most likely Bérault. It also suggests that the author of the chronicle was the fifteenth-century theologian, John Ireland, (2.37).¹²⁷ A comparison between the handwriting of this inscription and of Bérault's signature found on a document dating to 1483-4 suggests that it was the same hand, (2.2). It is likely that the manuscript ended up in Bérault's possession early on, and that he appended John Ireland's chronicle and the latter two short treatises to Warwick's text.

The contents of these latter two works fully support this hypothesis as both bear all the hallmarks of texts that would have been of particular interest to Bérault. The first is a succinct résumé on the rights of Charles VIII to the kingdom of Naples, based on the the rights of the princes of d'Anjou. As we have already seen, in early 1494 Bérault was sent by Charles VIII on an embassy to the pope, as his 'general and confidential friend,' with instructions to set forth the king's claim to the Crown of the two Sicilies.¹²⁸ His interest in this work is therefore obvious. The second is a work concerning the history of St Helena, the mother of emperor Constantine I and the daughter of, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, a king of the Britons.¹²⁹ An interest in the legendary British descent of St Helena is also perfectly understandable for an expatriate Brit on the Continent.

What is less clear is exactly how Bérault would have acquired Warwick's manuscript. There is little direct evidence of any connection between Bérault and Warwick himself. Warwick died when Bérault was about twenty-four years old and other than his supposed presence at the Battle of Bosworth Field, Bérault's career firmly focussed on events in Italy and Scotland.¹³⁰ It is, however, clear from the previous chapter that Sir William Monypenny spent a good deal of his time in the company of the Warwick, both in England and in France, and the strong connections between the Monypenny and Aubigny families mean that the involvement of Sir William Monypenny in this

¹²⁵ The date of the death of James II's widow, Mary of Guelders, the last event recorded in the chronicle.

¹²⁶ I am grateful to Paule Hochuli Dubuis, assistant conservator of manuscripts at the library of Geneva, for providing me with photographs and for assisting me in transcribing this note, which is in places badly worn. I agreed with Daly's reading of this section which was also used by Visser-Fuchs. Daly, 1991, 106; Visser-Fuchs, 2006: Hochuli Dubuis, 2009, 287-8; Aubert, 1909-11, 126-130; Senebier, 1779, 414-418.

¹²⁷ Ireland became a doctor of theology in 1476. He entered the service of Louis XI as his councillor and he is recorded as a diplomat for both Louis XI and James III. For Ireland's authorship of this chronicle see Daly, 1991. For his career see, Burns, 1990, 151-81.

¹²⁸ See note 18.

¹²⁹ Cole or Coel of Camulodunum. This history is told by Henry of Huntingdon, (c.1080-1160), in his *Historia Anglorum* and in Geoffrey of Monmouth's, (c.100-1155), *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The origin of the story is uncertain but suggests the existence of a lost hagiography of Helena. The same life of St Helena was printed by John Capgrave in London, 1516. Capgrave, 1901, II, 14.

¹³⁰ See note 10.

affair cannot be discounted.¹³¹ Whatever the exact circumstances surrounding Bérault's acquisition of the manuscript, it is not difficult to understand the appeal of this work to a Franco-Scottish soldier and diplomat.

The *Enseignement de vraie noblesse* is a Burgundian treatise on nobility. It has been attributed to Hugh or Gilbert de Lannoy, and is, like Giles de Rome's earlier work, a 'mirror for princes'. The basis of the text is a guide on how to live one's life as a prince, nobleman, or knight. The text is didactic in tone, and is set out in the shape of a dialogue between a young Flemish knight and an allegorical lady: Imagination. Imagination teaches the young knight the meaning of true nobility and instructs him to go and give her message to one of three classes in society: clergy, knights and princes, or townsfolk. The young knight chooses to go to the knights as he says that they were 'amongst whom I have been brought up'. The text stresses the benefits of ruling with reason and justice. It notes that wars should not be fought unnecessarily, and that evil in the world is caused by the ignorance of princes. The ideal reader for such a text was clearly a knight.

The *Vraie cronique d'Escoce* is a short text in French charting the legendary origins of the Scots, from their Greek and Egyptian ancestors, Galahel and Scota, to the deaths of James II and his queen, Mary of Guelders, in 1460 and 1463 respectively. One of the principal purposes of the text was to demonstrate Franco-Scottish friendships on the one hand, and Anglo-Scottish enmities on the other. As Daly has stressed, a key function of the work appears to be to set out the greater antiquity of the Scottish descent, compared to the Trojan descent of the English, and thus stress the Scots as the rightful possessors of Scotland, highlighting the unlawfulness of English incursions into lowland Scotland at this time. Furthermore, as a counterweight to any claims that the English could make to overlordship of the British Isles, it is clearly laid out that by Malcolm III's marriage to Margaret of Wessex, her Scottish descendants were in-fact endowed with their own claim to the throne of England.

This manuscript, although in part acquired rather than commissioned, tells us a great deal about Bérault. The fact that he kept the Earl of Warwick's arms and insignia, rather than replacing them with his own, suggests that owning a text originally produced for *Warwick the Kingmaker* may have held a certain cachet in itself. In a curious coincidence the illuminator of the Warwick part of this manuscript has been identified as a collaborator of Willem Vreelant, and christened the *Master of the Vraie Cronique d'Escoce*, not in relation to this manuscript, but after his work on another

¹³¹ The Monypenny and Stuart d'Aubigny families were certainly familiar with one another. Not merely due to their common Scottish heritage, but in other matters, such as the change of hands of the seignury of Concessault, the proximity of their lands and properties, and the marriage of Anne Monypenny to John Stuart, d'Aubigny, seigneur d'Oizon, (Robert Stuart brother). There is also evidence that Alexander Monypenny was employed by Louis XII in Milan as Captain of Justice at the same time as Robert Stuart was there as head of his battalion of Scots.

version of this text in Brussels, ms. 9469-70.¹³² While it is clear that the text would have been of great interest to Bérault, it is likely that the quality of its illumination would also have been highly prized. His ownership of such a finely illuminated text, must certainly indicate Bérault's appreciation of the visual arts. This said, the crudeness of the Scottish arms added to the *Vraie cronique d'Escoce*, and the plainness of the other texts, suggests that the content of these additions was of more interest to Bérault than the value of the overall volume as an objet d'art.

Both the main texts in this manuscript, the *Enseignement de vraie noblesse* and the *Vraie cronique descoce*, focus on arguments that would have proved useful for late-fifteenth century political negotiations. The principal aim of the *Vraie cronique descoce* was to elucidate the historical precedent for a Franco-Scottish alliance, and to suggest precedents for Anglo-Scottish relations. It sought to prove the independence of the Scots from the subjugation of any nation. The version copied into Bérault's manuscript is one of four surviving examples of this text and it is likely that it was primarily written as an aid for French or Franco-Scottish ambassadors and diplomats.¹³³ The four texts found in this manuscript: the *Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, the *Vraie cronique descoce*, the *rights of Charles VIII to the Kingdom of Naples*, and the *history of St Helena*, form a treasury of diplomatic material specifically appropriate for the needs of Bérault in relation to his diplomatic duties in Scotland and in Italy. They provided a veritable diplomatic arsenal, crucial to an ambassador such as Bérault, and furnished him with all the necessary arguments he might have required in his negotiations with the English, Scots, and the Italians.¹³⁴

¹³² Visser-Fuchs, 2006, 344; Bousmanne, 1997, 55-7.

¹³³ The other manuscripts are Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms 9467-70, Paris, BnF ms. fr. 20962, and 6214. The text was published in 1847: Anstruther, 1847. See also: Daly, 1991, 106. Sterchi, 2004, 79- 117.

¹³⁴ Taylor, 1999, 112-29.

Dictating the Art of War: *Traité sur l'art de la guerre*

Bérault was not only a patron of manuscripts, he was also an author in his own right. Manuscript 659 in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale, begins as follows:

'S'ensuit ung liuret et traicté comment ung prince ou chef de guerre
quel ordre ou train il doit tenir pour conquerer.
Ung pays ou passer ou traverser le pays des enemys. Composé parliametary
messire Bérault Stuard, cheuallier de l'ordre du roy noustre sire, son
conseiller et chambellain ordinaire et seigneur d'Aubigny, en allant
par luy en ambassade pour le roy au royaume d'Escoce, où il mourut,
pour confirmer les anciennes alliances dudit seigneur. Appellé avec luy
à rédiger et escrire ledict liuret et traicté Maistre Estienne le Jeune,
natif dudit Aubigny, son segrétaire et chappellain ordinaire.¹³⁵

This introductory passage states that the work is a treatise on the art of war written to instruct a prince, or commander, on what was necessary for a successful conquest. The work was written by Bérault at the end of his long career during his final visit to Scotland in 1508 and was dictated to his secretary 'Etienne le jeune', a native of Aubigny. It would be reasonable to assume that following Bérault's death in Corstorphine on the 11 June, 1508, Etienne returned to France with his transcript of the treatise and gave the work to Bérault's heir, and son-in-law, Robert Stuart.¹³⁶ Evidence suggests that Robert was responsible for commissioning a number of illuminated copies of this work in order to present them as diplomatic gifts to noblemen and courtiers in his sphere of influence.

Elie de Comminges published the text of Beinecke Ms 659 in 1976.¹³⁷ In the commentary to this work he identified two further versions of Bérault's treatise and four versions of a very similar text, three of which he identified as the work of a contemporary French commander, Robert de Balsac.¹³⁸ Since Comminges work two further versions of Bérault's manuscript have come to light,

135 The manuscript versions of Bérault's treatise which contain this preface are: Yale, Beinecke ms. 659; Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 20003; Hamburg, Dr Jörn Günther, the Guenichon ms. London, British Library Ms. Add. 20813 is missing this paragraph, as is Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 2070. For Beinecke ms. 659 see: Liebert, 1986, 180; *Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 208; Contamine, 1976, 117; Contamine, 1999, 69; *Catalogue of The Bute Collection of Forty-Two Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures*, lot. 35; Toynbee, 1951, 25-28.

136 See note 46. This anecdote may refer to Bérault's fellow ambassador, John Sellat, or it may refer to Etienne. *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513*, 1953, 178.

137 Comminges, 1976, 3-24.

138 Comminges identified Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 2070; Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 20,003; and Yale, Beinecke Ms 659, as the work of Bérault. He identified Madrid Ms.10.105 and Berlin, Hamilton Ms 470 as being identical in text to the Lyon, 1502, version of Robert de Balsac's *La Nef des Princes et des Batailles de Noblesse*. He identified one further work as a precursor to Bérault's but stated that it differed to the other three versions of de Balsac's work: Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 1245.

one as recently as 2007. It is therefore useful to examine the five versions of this treatise known today, in order to address some of the confusion that surrounds the identification of Bérault's treatise as distinct from the work of Robert de Balsac, (Appendices 2b -2c).¹³⁹ Beyond Comminges examination of Ms 659, no work has addressed the various pictorial cycles which have been used to illuminate this treatise. It is also valuable, therefore, to present an analysis of these illuminations, indicating for whom they were produced and with what purpose in mind.¹⁴⁰

Bérault's treatise on the art of war, takes its place in a long and distinguished literary tradition of technical and didactic works on military strategy written in the Middle Ages. The most popular of such works was *De re militari*, by Vegetius, written in the fourth century and translated into French by Jean de Meun.¹⁴¹ Bérault's treatise was strongly indebted to the work of Robert de Balsac. Indeed, it is likely that Bérault owned a copy of Balsac's, *La nef des princes et des batailles de noblesse*, and that he had it in his possession on his trip to Scotland when he dictated his own version of the treatise. Bérault borrowed heavily from this earlier work. This raises some questions: why was this work used? How did Bérault alter it? Was it acceptable to appropriate another's work in this way, without acknowledging the original author?¹⁴²

Robert de Balsac was born c.1435, and by 1453 was a man-at-arms in the king's army.¹⁴³ By 1464 he was employed on diplomatic missions by Louis XI to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. Balsac, keen to further his career, desired to enter the service of the Duke of Milan at this time. He was, however, hindered by an awkward episode involving his uncle, Antoine de Chabannes, Count of Dammartin, who was taken as a political prisoner by the French king, thus thwarting Balsac's plans. After 1465, Balsac entered the patronage of Charles de Valois, duc de Berry. As a commander of a small band of men, he took part in a number of campaigns against the Count of Armagnac; and

139 All versions of the manuscript were mistakenly described as Bérault's work in Sotheby's sale catalogue 29 June, 2007, and by Dr Dr Jörn Günther's online catalogue: *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, (London: Sotheby's: Friday 29 June, 2007). Lot. 26; <http://guenther-rarebooks.com>. Contamine mistakenly lists Hamilton Ms. 470 as Bérault's work in Contamine, 1976, 117, n.73, Although corrects this in: Contamine, 1999, 69.

140 Comminges published three of the six illuminations in Yale, Beinecke Ms. 659, and one of the seven illuminations in Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 20,003. Toynbee published the presentation miniature in Yale, Beinecke Ms. 659. Toynbee, 1951, 25-28. Wood published a detail from Paris, BnF, fr. 20,003, f.11v, but did not reference it. Wood, 1989, 39.

141 Jean de Meun (c.1250 – c. 1305) was a French author best known for his continuation of the *Roman de la Rose*. He translated *De re militari* in 1284 for Jean de Brienne, Count of Eu.

142 At the end of Balsac's work is a similar statement of authorship: 'Cy finist l'ordre et train que ung prince ou chief de guerre doit tenir tant pour conquerer ung pays et passer ou traverser celluy des enemy's, aussy pour assieger une place, que pour soy deffendre et garder aux siens quant on l'assault ou se doubte d'estre assailly, aussy pour faire la guerre guerreante, fait et composé par noble et puissant seigneur Robert de Balsac, seigneur d'Autregues et de Saint Amand es Montaignes, conseiller et chancellier du roy nostre sire et son seneschal es pays de Gascongne et Agenés'. Paris, BnF, *La nef des princes*, 1502, f.62. Balsac is also noted as the author at the start of the work. Nowhere in Bérault's work is Balsac mentioned or given credit for his initial work. In Bérault's defence it is possible that the treatise Bérault dictated to Etienne was unfinished at the time of his death and Etienne may have seen fit to 'pad out' Bérault's work with that of Balsac.

143 For Balsac see Tamizey de Larroque, 1886, 276-309; Contamine, 1976; Beccarie de Pavie, in Dickinson, ed. 1954, xciv. For his patronage see, Visi, 2005.

between 1474-8, he served in garrisons in Burgundy. Following the death of Louis XI and the coronation of Charles VIII, Balsac fought in Burgundy and then in Brittany. It is thought that he then took part in the invasion of Italy in 1494, but the original documentation is murky in this respect, referring only to a Lord of Entragues and not referring to Balsac by name.¹⁴⁴ Despite apparent scandals regarding his dealings in land and property in Italy against the king's orders, Balsac retained his relatively important position in the king's army and continued to serve Louis XII until his death on the 9 August, 1503.¹⁴⁵

If we compare Balsac's career to that of Bérault, two things are clear: their paths must have crossed, most likely on more than one occasion, and Balsac never rose to the great heights that Bérault reached. While Balsac's work would have been appealing to Bérault, he would understandably have felt compelled to expand the work, and add examples from his own experience. This is exactly what we find when we compare the two texts.¹⁴⁶

In the introductory section of Bérault's treatise he notes that 'the Romans conducted and observed military discipline which they valued more than life, and cherished more than their children, and by which they acquired glory and domination over the whole world and all other nations and peoples.' He then states, 'it is a small thing to know the art and to see the virtue of Force which should be principal to all dukes, captains, and men-of-war, but is little without experience which is the mother and mistress of all things.' He praises above all the Roman's military discipline, and reminds us that practical experience is key.¹⁴⁷ Bérault then discloses that he had set himself the task to write truthfully of the form, manner, and experience of the conduct and exercise of military discipline for the education of all virtuous nobles and chivalrous men, as he had seen it practised in many kingdoms, lands, countries, and fiefdoms. The work is therefore a personal record of practical experience gained during an extensive military career, in which he saw active service in many countries.

Bérault's work highlights specific concerns, including the provision of sufficient artillery and the necessity to guard it well. He noted that the most beneficial thing a chief-of-war could do was to obtain news frequently, and use it wisely. He includes excerpts from his own military experiences, such as the battle he fought and lost against the Spanish in Calabria, and the loss of the

144 Contamine, 1976, 110.

145 Contamine, 1976, 111; Tamizey de Larroque, 1886, 289.

146 For this comparison I have used the Lyon, 1502 version of de Balsac's *La nef des princes*.... and Comminges published version of Bérault's text. Comminges, 1976, 3-24. The Lyon, 1502, edition of Balsac's treatise contains another short work by Balsac and several works by Symphorien Champier, (1472 – c.1539). Champier was a physician from Lyon and is noteworthy for his friendship with Jean Lemaire de Belges and Jean Perréal. A letter from Jean Lemaire to the royal official, Claude Thomassin, Lyon, 12 August, 1509, praises Perréal and mentions that Champier saved Perréal's life. Lemaire de Belges, 1972, Stecher, ed, III, 407.

147 Beinecke Ms 659, f.3-3v. Comminges, 1976, 3.

Castello Nuovo, Naples, by the French in 1495. He also adds a long paragraph relating to the control and distribution of provisions.¹⁴⁸ The bulk of the text is concerned with advice on the importance of recognising the capabilities of one's captains: assessing whether they were suited to lead great armies, or smaller troops, whether they would perform best on horseback or on foot, or whether they were most effectively employed in assault, defence, skirmishes, scaling walls, or dispatched on embassies, etc.¹⁴⁹ His additions not only refer to events in his own career, but also to examples of military cunning from the classical past. He recalls, for instance, Hannibal's trick of raising a cloud of dust, to suggest the arrival of reinforcements, thus forcing the Romans to evacuate the plain of Lombardy.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, he notes that 'Monsieur du Bueil, qui estoit bon cappitaine,' instructed never to enter combat if it was not to your advantage, or if you did not have to. He also notes that Scipio Africanus was of this view.¹⁵¹ This tells us not only that Bérault was familiar with Jean V de Bueil's famed autobiographical romance on the siege of Orléans, *Le Jouvencel* (c.1466), but also that he was familiar with military writing from classical antiquity.

When Auton mentioned Bérault in his chronicles of Louis XII, he singled out for particular praise his reconnaissance of terrain, 'Le seigneur d'Aubigny, qui au mestrier de la guerre estoit ung maistre sur le autres pour la descouvre du pays et rancontre des embusches, mist chevaulx ligiers a la voye; et pour actraire les ennemys hors leur fort,'¹⁵² This talent for mapping out the countryside and anticipating ambushes was also inferred in Bérault's treatise. This section of his work is particularly important for this study, as it provides an insight into the relationship between the disciplines of art and war. Bérault notes that in order to gain knowledge of the country one intends to conquer, one may have it put into a painting, and depending on the landscape, be it moorland, mountains, marsh or straights, arrange the manner of riding in such a way that people on foot and on horseback can rescue each other if one is surprised on their way, or if something happens.¹⁵³ This is a fascinating and hitherto unnoticed section of the text, which is important when we consider that Leonardo da Vinci, for instance, was hired as a map-maker and military engineer by Cesare Borgia between 1502-3.¹⁵⁴ Map-making skills would have been invaluable in the service of military

148 Calabria; Yale, Beinecke Ms 659, f.5v-6, 17. Comminges, 1976, 5, 15. Naples: Yale, Beinecke Ms 659, f.12v. Comminges, 1976, 11.

149 Beinecke Ms 659, f.16-16v. Comminges, 1976, 14.

150 Beinecke Ms 659, f.9v. Comminges, 1976, 8.

151 Beinecke Ms 659, f.19. Comminges, 1976, 16.

152 Auton, 1889-1895, II, 265.

153' Et après cela scavoir quel pays il y a, voire de le faire mettre en peinture qui pourroit, et selon le pays que ce sera, ou pays plain, ou de lande, de montaigne, marés, ou destroitcz, ordonner la manière de chevaucher et d'aller en façon que les gens de cheval et de pied se puissent secourir l'un l'autre s'ilz estoient surprins en cheminant et qu'il vensist quelque affaire.' Yale, Beinecke, Ms 659, f.17-17v. Comminges, 1976, 15.

154 Leonardo da Vinci's first datable map is the *Plan of Imola* of 1502 for Caesar Borgia. It is perhaps one of the first geometric plans of a town. Given the date of this work it is likely that it was drawn for strategic purposes. Leonardo continued to produce survey maps of territories in Tuscany and Romagna for Borgia in the early 1500s. Miller, 2003.

strategy. The owner of a map of the terrain of his enemy's country could devise a strategy for invasion by pinpointing his opponents territorial weaknesses and avoid surprise attacks by being aware of the lay of the land. Bérault, having worked closely with Borgia during the siege of Capua in 1501, may have been aware of the cartographic innovations which were occurring around this time. This interest in cartography was by no means confined to the Italians: the renowned French artist Jean Perréal was recorded by Jean Lemaire de Belges as demonstrating an interest in topographical and battle studies. We know that Perréal made a number of visits to Italy with the French armies: to Milan in 1494 and 1499, to Lombardy in 1502, and again in the spring of 1509. It is also known that he was friends with Leonardo and had given him advice on technical matters.¹⁵⁵

Lemaire's account of Perréal's work indicates that he was engaged in surveying and charting the Italian territories conquered by the French. In listing the subject matter deserving of special attention in Perréal's oeuvre, he notes depictions of conquered towns, cities, and castles, the volume of rivers, the irregularity of mountains, the lay of the land, the order and disorder of battle, the horror and the misery of the dead and the wounded, stating that while his paintings were essentially dumb, he made them speak with his own eloquent and expressive tongue.¹⁵⁶ As court painter to Charles VIII, and Louis XII, and involved in many of the most important state occasions of the time, Perréal may have been acquainted with Bérault. It is not possible to determine whether when Bérault mentioned mapping in his treatise he had in mind the work of Leonardo, or Perréal, or a more primitive version of this emerging art.¹⁵⁷ Auton attests to Bérault's fame in the reconnaissance of terrain and Bérault's own work states that in order to be effective in this field it was useful to employ an artist to survey and record the country one wished to conquer. It was also at this time that the leading court artists in both France and Italy were turning their hands to this type of artistic endeavour. Bérault, as a patron of such projects, may thus have been a catalyst for the development of this practical form of art.

¹⁵⁵ Leonardo acknowledged the assistance of Perreal in a note written in *Codex Atlanticus*. He noted that the latter had shown him how to use dry colours. Durrieu, 1919, 152-67. Auton, describing events in Milan c.1500, mentions a still-born and deformed child drawn by Perréal 'from life.' Leonardo is known to also have been interested in drawing similar medical curiosities. Auton, 1889-1895, II, 102-4.

¹⁵⁶ Lemaire de Belges, 1972, Stecher, ed, III, 406; Tolley, 'Jean Perréal', *Oxford Art Online*; Tolley in Woods, ed, 2007; Pradel, 1963, 164. Whether Lemaire and Bérault were acquainted, although likely, is difficult to establish. Lemaire mentions Robert Stuart d'Aubigny in a letter of address he wrote for the chevalier Bayard after the Siege of Mezieres, 1521. Lemaire de Belges, 1972, Stecher, ed, III, 365.

¹⁵⁷ Recent research by Thereza Wells into the provenance of the *Lansdown Madonna*, (a version of *the Madonna of the Yarnwinder* currently in New York and attributed, in part, to Leonardo da Vinci), has presented a possible connection to the Stuarts of Darnley. Wells suggested that this connection may indicate that the work was originally commissioned or acquired by Bérault Stuart, perhaps directly from Leonardo, during Bérault's time in Milan. Without documentary evidence it is difficult to support this theory. Particularly since the 1544 inventory lists no work in the Stuart d'Aubigny collection which may be identified with Leonardo's painting. Kemp & Wells. 2011, 145-153.

The illuminations in Bérault's treatise must have been produced once it returned to France after Bérault's death in 1508. The text itself does not indicate any predetermined placements or necessity for images. The most likely patron of the illuminated versions of Bérault's work is, therefore, his heir and son-in-law Robert. The remainder of this section will compare the four surviving illuminated versions, omitting one in Paris which is unillustrated.

The most accomplished of these manuscripts, Beinecke Ms 659, opens with an image of two figures seated in a Renaissance interior at opposite sides of a table, (2.38). A young figure is busy writing, while opposite a grand figure dressed in red and gold robes sits on a golden throne. The latter is shown wearing a black hat adorned with a gold badge, and wearing the collar of the Order of St Michael. The collar is formed by a double circlet of linked cockle shells.¹⁵⁸ The image shows Bérault dictating his work to his secretary, Etienne. This is followed by a grand scene depicting François I surrounded by his courtiers and heralds. An analysis of the heraldic tunics worn by the figures suggests that the manuscript was illuminated between 1515 and 1516, (2.39).¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, Comminges suggested that one of the figures seated in council around the king might be identified as Robert Stuart. The heraldic dress of this figure is largely obscured and it is difficult to establish if this identification is correct. The inclusion of a partially opened book resting in his hand, however, lends some weight to this identification.¹⁶⁰

The remaining four illuminations in this manuscript illustrate various aspects of warfare as discussed in Bérault's work. The illumination on f.2v shows French troops on the march, preceded by the Garde Écossaise. The troops are accompanied by drummers and trumpeters and great prominence is given to their artillery, (2.40).¹⁶¹ F.13r depicts a siege on a walled city, with armies appearing over the horizon from different directions, and several figures digging trenches, (2.40). The illumination conveys various notions expressed in the treatise, regarding siege warfare: the use of waves of attack, and blockade for instance.¹⁶² This is followed by an illumination on f.19v of a castle with an elaborate arched gateway, fortified against a siege, with canons protruding from each window. Soldiers gather around the castle also armed with canons. The illumination accompanies the text on the defence of a fortified town. The use of ditches surrounding fortifications is emphasised, specifically showing the side of the ditch that protects the wall as raised, in order that

158 Boulton suggests that this form of the collar became popular after the accession of François I in 1515. Boulton, 1987, 442, n.46. For Ms. 659, see: *Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 1872, 208; Toynbee, 1951, 25-28; Gray, 1974, 22-34; Comminges, 1976; *Catalogue of The Bute Collection of Forty-Two Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures*, (London: Sotheby's: London: 13 June 1983); Liebert, 1986, 180.

159 Between the accession of François I in 1515 and the death of Louis d'Orléans in 1516. Comminges, 1976, xxxix.

160 Figure 11 in 2.46. Comminges, 1976, xxxviii.

161 Muskets and pikes resting over the soldiers shoulders and a line of canons, accompanied by a barrel of gunpowder, are painted in detail.

162 This illumination follows Bérault's note that the Castel Nuovo in Naples 'fut baille a ung homme qui nestoit point homme de guerre, pourquoy en deffaulte de donner ordre aux choses il perdit la place.' Beinecke, Ms 659, f.12v.

those besieging the fortification might strike the escarpment rather than the wall itself, (2.41). Finally, the last illumination shows an army taking possession of a captured city. Several soldiers set fire to the roofs of buildings while others lead away their prisoners, barefoot, clad in their undergarments, and with their hands tied. Two enterprising figures are shown absconding with a small herd of cattle, perhaps a detail included to illustrate the notion that an invading army should not be denied their right to spoils, (2.41). In this copy of Bérault's treatise the emphasis is on demonstrating the benefits of artillery and on the decorum expected of an invading army. The illustrations carefully follow Bérault's writing and appear fitting for a manuscript that was most likely owned and used by Bérault's son-in-law, Robert Stuart.¹⁶³

Of the remaining three illustrated versions of this treatise two contain cycles of images that are almost identical, but which differ both in style and content from those in the Yale Manuscript just examined. These two manuscripts are BnF. ms. fr. 20003, and British Library, Ms. Add. 20813.¹⁶⁴ The images in these two copies also date to the first-half of the sixteenth century and it is likely that they were commissioned by Robert as gifts for important figures within the military circles in which he moved. Ms. fr. 20003 contains an opening presentation miniature which is absent from the British Library manuscript. The image is badly damaged, but shows a young man presenting a manuscript to a grand figure, dressed in fur trimmed robes and wearing a black hat. The scene takes place in an elaborate Renaissance interior. It is likely that the scene represents Etienne presenting the completed treatise to Bérault.¹⁶⁵ The illuminations that follow closely corresponds to those found in the British Library manuscript. A comparison between four of these illuminations demonstrates how closely they are related, (2.42-5). The images show: troops meeting in front of a castle; two groups of soldiers in a walled city, with armed boats outside; a siege on a walled city; and men with provision horses. The third of these images deserves particular attention, (2.44). The illustrations show an invading army scaling the walls of a fortified town. They brandish swords and shields, while other soldiers fire arrows and muskets at the besieged force. The fortification is vigorously defended by figures who use swords and stones to see off the attackers, a number of bodies are strewn under the wall. An indication that the siege will be a successful is given by the cracks in the walls, suggesting the city is about to fall to the invaders. In the foreground of each composition, several groups of soldiers are depicted with brightly coloured tents

¹⁶³ Comminges, 1976, xxxvi-xxxix.

¹⁶⁴ Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 20003, f.2 under the title is a coat of arms and the motto 'Plus qu'on ne pense' with the letter R. On f.1r is 'Pour longtemps durer faut tout endurer'. I have yet to identify the original owner of this ms however this motto also appears in a Book of Hours, dating to the first-half of the sixteenth century: KB, 71 J 72, Koninklijke Bibliotheek. London, British Library Ms. Add. 20813 bears little indication of its original ownership. It was previously in the collection of Lord Stuart de Rothesay until 1853.

¹⁶⁵ Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 20003, f.2v.

indicating their camp. In each image, a general or nobleman is shown pointing towards two canons while a figure, dressed all in white, perhaps representing François I, looks on. The image clearly draws attention to the benefits of artillery during a siege, and emphasises the underlying importance of the need for money, manpower, and artillery in war.¹⁶⁶

While Bérault's treatise glosses over the theological and moral justifications for war, it nevertheless assumes an understanding of these matters. His reference to Jean de Bueil suggests that he may have shared the view that a life of arms was ennobling in itself.¹⁶⁷ His thoughts no doubt echoed de Bueil's sentiments that 'if God is willing we soldiers will win our salvation by the exercise of arms just as well as we could by living a life of contemplation on a diet of roots.'¹⁶⁸ Bérault's treatise furnishes us with an interesting testament to how a professional soldier thought about and practised war at the end of the Middle Ages. The illustrated copies of this work suggest that the treatise was considered an appropriate gift, to be embellished and presented to important figures, most likely military acquaintances of Robert Stuart. The emphasis on the relatively recent developments in artillery and munitions suggests a mildly propagandistic stance, in terms of reconciling notions of medieval chivalry with more recent developments in the practice of warfare.¹⁶⁹ That the images were used as a tool by which to stress such themes, may be seen by looking to the last of the illuminated versions of this treatise, the so-called Guenichon manuscript.¹⁷⁰ In this instance the illuminations take on an altogether different tone, the pictorial stress being on the peacefulness and nobility of war, suggesting that the intended recipient had different expectations of the treatise than the recipients of ms. fr. 20003 and of ms. Add. 20813, (2.46). The stress in this instance, is less on artillery and battlefield action and more on matters of statecraft, a more fitting gift for a nobleman than a soldier. The visual evidence suggests, therefore, that different copies of Bérault's treatise were commissioned, perhaps by Robert, with illuminations customised to appeal to each of the various intended recipients.

166 The figure depicted pointing at the canons in the British Library manuscript, with the white feather in his cap, is similar to a full-length sixteenth-century portrait thought to be of Robert Stuart at la Verrerie, suggesting that to a contemporary audience this figure may have been understood as Robert Stuart directing François I's attention towards the importance of artillery.

167 Keen, 1976.

168 'Si Dieu plaist, nous acquerrons nostre sauvement à l'exercite des armes aussi bien comme nous ferions à estre en contemplacion et à ne mangier que racines.' Bueil, (c.1466), 1887, Lecestre, ed, II, 21.

169 In the early-sixteenth century developments in artillery and munitions were not universally embraced. Developments in firearms were seen, by some, as a threat to Christian morality, social order, and as encouraging cowardice.

170 This manuscript belonged to a nobleman whose arms appear on f.6v, perhaps Maurice Guenichon, or his son Jean Guenichon. Their additions and signatures are found on ten blank leaves at the end of the text. The manuscript was most likely acquired either by Maurice or Jean (1541-1616). It remained in an unbroken line of provenance in this family, until the last owners. It was put up for sale by Dr. Jörn Günther in 2007. *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, (London: Sotheby's: Friday 29 June, 2007). Lot. 26.

If Bérault was the epitome of the late-medieval knightly ideal, his cousin and son-in-law, Robert, was the self-styled embodiment of the Renaissance general.¹⁷¹ While Bérault focussed his energies on his military career, Robert, appears to have taken a broader view of what was expected of a military commander at this time. His love for the arts and visual aggrandisement were as conspicuous as his devotion to his duties. This devotion ultimately resulted in him attaining the highest military honour in his adopted country: as one of the four *marécheaux* of France under Louis XII and François I.¹⁷²

Robert was born in Scotland *c.* 1470 and was approximately twenty-three years Bérault's junior. He is first mentioned in 1489, in a letter from James IV, which documents the granting of a pardon to Robert and three of his brothers, for having held out Dumbarton Castle against royal forces during the previous year.¹⁷³ Robert travelled to France shortly after his father's death in 1495 and took up service in the French army under Bérault. He appears as lieutenant to his brother, William d'Oizon, in the muster roll of the Scots men-at-arms in 1498.¹⁷⁴ It may have been around this time that Robert was contracted in marriage to his cousin, Anne Stuart, the only daughter of Bérault and his wife, Anne de Maumont. Anne can only have been about ten years old by this time and Robert was thereafter often referred to as *seigneur de Saint Quentin* in her right.¹⁷⁵

Robert was frequently mentioned by Auton in his chronicles of the Italian wars of Louis XII. He was recorded as having participated in the siege of Novara, and as assisting in the capture of Ludovico Sforza in May, 1500. In June of the following year he was sent, with forty men-at-arms to Nola which he found on arrival to be heavily guarded. Auton records that Robert overcame this obstacle and won the town over, describing how the town surrendered to his '*courtoise maniere, visage riant et doulce parolles*'.¹⁷⁶ Auton notes that Robert knew he could not take the city by force alone, but used his skills as a diplomat to convince the citizens that he would treat them well and defend their interests and thus his courteous words persuaded the people of Nola to open their gates and let the French enter.

A muster roll of the 3 January 1507, signed and sealed by Robert, stated that he, messire

171 Robert was Bérault's 1st cousin once removed, (Appendix 2a).

172 The date Robert was awarded this honour is unknown but it was likely to have been during the reign of Louis XII, perhaps after the death of Pierre de Gié, 1513. Cust, 1891, 54; Bonner, 'Robert Stuart', *O.D.N.B.*; Bonner, 2011, 51.

173 Fraser, 1874, II, 132.

174 Forbes-Leith, 1882, I, 167.

175 Cust, 1891, 51; Prévost & Morembert, 1932, IV, 186. Vogüé, however, suggests that the marriage took place in 1504 when Anne would have been about sixteen years old. Vogüé, 1971, 13.

176 Auton, 1889-1895, II, 263.

Robert Stuart, chevalier, seigneur de Saint Quentin, was captain of 96 lances and 198 archers at this time.¹⁷⁷ In April 1507 Robert was summoned by Charles d'Amboise to assist him in the siege of Genoa and here Robert is said to have distinguished himself by storming a bastion on foot with eighty of his archers.

As mentioned earlier, in 1508, James IV wrote to his friend and ally, Anne of Brittany, sending his condolences regarding Bérault's untimely death in Scotland and commending to her protection the brothers Robert and John Stuart being the closest relations to the deceased knight.¹⁷⁸ Anne took James IV's request seriously and acted promptly in having John appointed as captain of the Scots guards and putting Robert in possession of the Aubigny, for which he did homage to Louis XII, on 21 August, 1508.¹⁷⁹ He was also appointed in this year to the position of captain of Harfleur and Montivilliers in Normandy.¹⁸⁰

On the 14 May, 1509, at the Battle of Agnadello, Robert and the Scots men-at-arms, who were in the vanguard of Louis XII's army, assisted in the important victory over the Venetians.¹⁸¹ Robert remained in Italy with his battalion of Scots for the period of 1511 to 1513. On 4 October, 1512, Robert was appointed captain of the Scots guards, having earlier in February of that year assisted in the taking of the Lombard town of Brescia.¹⁸² In relation to the time he spent in this town, he is mentioned in the memoirs of Bayard as having accompanied the famed knight on horseback for several miles out of Brescia. Bayard described 'le Seigneur d'Aubigny', as his 'grad compaignon & parfaict amy,' and as the commander whom Gaston de Foix, duc de Nemours, had left in charge of this town.¹⁸³ He is furthermore mentioned in the memoirs of Fleuranges as having fought with his hundred lances under the duc de Nemours at the Battle of Ravenna, in April, 1512.¹⁸⁴

After Robert had been ordered to garrison the town of Brescia, he spent eight months besieged by the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the Venetians, the Swiss, and the Italian communes.¹⁸⁵ Famine and disease eventually forced Robert to surrender the town and enabled him to return with la Trémoille and the rest of the army to France in 1513. Robert was by this time not alone among the French commanders in feeling a certain degree of discontent with the lack of support and reinforcement that were being made available by Louis XII. This is demonstrated by a

177 Forbes-Leith, 1882, I, 176; British Library, Addit. Charters, 14036.

178 Fraser, 1874, II, 346

179 Stuart, 1798, 212.

180 Bonner, 2011, 142, 146.

181 Forbes-Leith, 1882, I, 84.

182 He was appointed captain following the death of his brother, Jean Stuart d'Oizon in 1512. Billioud, 1948, 186.

183 Bayard, 1616, 283.

184 Fleuranges, 1786, XVI.

185 Cust, 1891, 54.

newsletter sent to England from Paris, dated to February, 1513, which states that 'The king would hardly speak to the captains who returned from Italy... and if the queen had not openly given them money, monsieur d'Aubigny and the others would have given up serving. They wish the king were dead and Angoulesme [François I] were in his place.'¹⁸⁶ The extent to which this can be taken literally is hard to determine, as it would seem that only a year after Robert's return the king demonstrated his gratitude in a most remarkable way, by granting Robert the honour of being appointed a maréchal of France.¹⁸⁷

If further proof were needed regarding the high esteem in which Louis XII held Robert Stuart, whatever Robert's own feeling may have been, one need look no further than the events of September, 1513, when Louis issued a decree of naturalisation to all Scots in France. In this decree Louis ends by explaining that these privileges were granted at the request of 'the archbishop of Bourges, bishop of Murra, now ambassador to our most dear beloved cousin and ally, the king of Scotland, and our beloved and loyal counsellor and chamberlain, Robert Stuart, chevalier, sieur d'Aubigny, captain of our Scottish guard, and of the 100 lances of the same nation.'¹⁸⁸

Robert was again in command during the campaign in Picardy against the English and merited a mention in Sir Robert Lindsay's poem, *The Historie of Squyer Meldrum*. Besides Robert's military responsibilities he was also required to undertake periodic ceremonial duties in his position as captain of the Scots guard. In October 1514, Robert was present at the marriage of Louis XII and Mary Tudor, and rode at the head of the archers guard when the queen entered Paris on the 6 November of that year.¹⁸⁹ However, on the 1 January 1515, only several months after his marriage, Louis XII died. If the earlier reports held some truth then Robert must have been gratified when François I took up the reins of the French monarchy, and by all accounts it appears that the new king showed great favour towards Robert.

The Scots guard played a prominent part in the grand procession accompanying the new king as he entered Paris after his coronation in January, 1515. It would appear that François I confirmed Robert in his post as one of the four maréchaux de France, and also continued to entrust to him a high command in the army which had already been assembled by Louis XII. In accordance with Louis's wishes, this army embarked on an Italian campaign on the 10 August 1515. The army was forced to take an unconventional route, by steep mountain paths, into Italy in order to outmanoeuvre the twenty thousand strong Swiss army which guarded the normal passes. Their

¹⁸⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, I, 1509-1514, no. 3752.

¹⁸⁷ See note 172.

¹⁸⁸ Cust, 1891, 55; Bonner, 1997, 1085-1115.

¹⁸⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, I, 1509-1514, no. 5482. For Gringore's text and illuminations that recorded Mary's entry ceremony see Gringore, *Les Entrées Royales a Paris de Marie d'Angleterre (1514) et Claude de France (1517)*, Brown, ed. 2005.

tactics where a success and Robert and Bayard took Prospero Colonna, the Italian general by surprise.¹⁹⁰ One of the accounts of this event records that Robert was Prospero's captor, and delivered a long and eloquent speech after he was seized.¹⁹¹

The French army finally dealt the Swiss a terrible defeat at the Battle of Marignano, on the 13 September, 1515. Such was the Scottish delight on hearing this news, that in Edinburgh bonfires were lit and canons were fired to celebrate the French victory.¹⁹² In 1520 Robert was again honoured by being appointed by François I as one of the three judges to preside over the great tournament and pageant: *the Field of the Cloth of Gold*.¹⁹³ At this event François I and Henry VIII each tried to outshine the other, with dazzling tents and clothes, huge feasts, music, jousting, and games. The tents and the costumes displayed so much gold cloth, that the event was named after it.

Later that year Robert undertook an embassy to Scotland, a letter from James V written to Lord Dacre on the 27 November 1520, confirms his arrival. On 25 May 1522, he was appointed lieutenant-general of the king's army in Italy, and on 26 October of the following year he was entrusted with the task of bringing law and order to the duchy of Burgundy.¹⁹⁴ Late in 1524, Robert accompanied François I to Italy again, and was present at the devastating Battle of Pavia. Robert was taken prisoner with François I and remained captive until they were replaced by the king's two sons, who were sent as prisoners to Spain.¹⁹⁵

As first captain of the guard, Robert was always at close attendance to the king or queen of France and he was present at almost all state occasions of the time. He is was found at the coronation of Queen Claude in 1517, and at the coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1530.¹⁹⁶ In 1523 he is recorded as taking his place among the ten peers of France at the trial of Constable de Bourbon.¹⁹⁷ On the 29 September 1527, his name appears in the list of knights who attend a chapter of the Order of St Michael, held at Compiègne. In 1528 he was present when a herald, who had been sent by Charles V, arrived at the great hall of the palace at Paris, to propose a single combat between the

190 Marot, 1723, 208.

191 *Papers Relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers in France: from Original Documents*, 1835, no. 36, 72.

192 Michel, 1862, I, 348.

193 *Calendar of State Papers, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, III, 1520, no. 870; Montfauçon, 1732, IV, 191.

194 Two document from the la Verrerie archives, published by Bonner, relate to these two episodes. The first, 'Lettres patentes du François Ier nommant Robert Stuart lieutenant-général à l'armée d'Italie, pendant l'absence de Guillaume Gouffier, seigneur de Bonnavet, amiral de France, Lyon, 25 mai 1522', the second, 'commission de François Ier envoyant Robert Stuart en Bourgogne contre des bandes, Lyon, 26, October 1523', Bonner, 2011, 146, 148.

195 Robert appears in a contemporary panel painting at the Ashmolean Museum, labelled as, 'MONSSER DAVEBIGNY ESCOSSOYS'. The painting, probably Burgundian in origin, was executed with anti-French sentiments in mind, showing the French side in an unfavourable light. Robert is shown turning his back on the fighting, as his horse heads off out of the picture frame. Wilson, 2003, 11.

196 On this occasion his wife, Jacqueline de la Queuille, is mentioned as a lady-in-waiting, 'all richly dressed and mounted on hackneys, caparizoned with cloth of gold'. *Le Cérémonial Français*, I, 476-501.

197 Montfauçon, 1732, IV, 239.

two great leaders.¹⁹⁸ He was also present at the wedding of the future Henri II to Catherine de Medici at Marseilles on 28 October 1533, however, it would appear that poor health prevented him from attending the marriage of James V to Princess Madeleine in Paris on 1 January, 1537.¹⁹⁹ Robert's military prowess was next employed, not in Italy, but in Provence, from 1536-8. This campaign appears to mark the end of Robert's public duties and at the age of approximately sixty-eight he finally retired. Robert died at the château d'Aubigny in early 1544 at the age of approximately seventy-four years.²⁰⁰

As already stated, Robert first married his cousin Anne, the only daughter of Bérault and Anne de Maumont *c.* 1498. Although the date of the marriage is uncertain, we know that Anne died young and childless in the year 1516-7.²⁰¹ Before Anne's death, she ran the la Verrerie estate while Robert was in Italy, and as such there survives a document for the sale of wood that bears her signature.²⁰² Anne did not live to see the apogee of Robert's success and fortune. Her will, dictated to the notary, Jehan Lauverjat, several days before her death in the presence of her husband, called for her to be buried in the church of Aubigny in front of the main altar. She bequeathed 50 livres tournois for a mass to be said everyday, for her, her father, and her predecessors. She also instructed that her robes of gold, silver, and silk, be distributed to the church of Saint Martin d'Aubigny, the Hotel-Dieu d'Aubigny, the chapel at la Verrerie and the church of the Conception at Orléans. She also left to the latter a crimson velvet robe to henceforth be used to make ornaments for the service of God. She left other clothing to her good and loyal servants, along with 1000 livres tournois.²⁰³

By the 15 June 1527, Robert had remarried.²⁰⁴ His second wife, Jacqueline de la Queueille was from an ancient Auvergne family, and on this date it is recorded that they both received grant of the seigneurie of Beaumont-le-Roger in Normandy. Also in this year Robert took custody of his

198 For the chapter of the Order of St Michel see *Revue Historique de la Noblesse*, I, 89. For the arrival of the herald proposing single combat. '... behind the throne were many knights of the order [of St. Michael], including Mons. d'Aubigni, captain of 100 spears and of the Scottish Guard', *Cal. State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, IV: 1527-1533.

199 Bonner, 'Robert Stuart', *O.D.N.B.*

200 Vogüé, 1971, 17. Bonner dates Roberts death to March /April 1544. Cust states that he had died by the end of 1543. Bonner, *Robert Stuart*, *O.D.N.B.* Bonner, 2011, 21, n. 2. Cust, 1891, 62.

201 Anne died before she reached thirty years old. Vogüé. 1971, 16

202 Vogüé, 1971, 16.

203 Vogüé, 1971, 17. Reference to the church at Orléans is interesting as the Scots in general, and the Stuarts of Darnley in particular, had a long-standing connection to the town. John Stuart of Darnley's brother, William, and his cousin the Earl of Buchan received gifts from Orléans in 1421. John Stuart was ever popular with the city after promising to provide it with aid in the event of a dispute with the king. On 12 February, 1429, John was killed in a skirmish at Rouvray. (Battle of the Herrings). He and his wife were buried in the cathedral and they left sufficient money so that a special service of remembrance could be said for them. This lasted until the revolution. In the famed Orléans mystery play, John, was given a eulogy spoken by Dunois, one of the heroes of the play. Two contemporary Douglasses were also buried there and left a considerable sum of money and gifts to the cathedral. There is now a modern plaque at the cathedral commemorating John and his wife's burial. Ditcham, 1979; *Le mystere du siege d'Orléans*, 2002, 341-344.

204 The date of Robert's second marriage is not known, however Bonner's suggestion that it was soon after he was released from imprisonment in 1525 is possible. Bonner, 2011, 56.

great-nephews Matthew and John Stewart, the sons of John Stewart, twelfth earl of Lennox, who were sent to France after their father was killed by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart in 1526.²⁰⁵ It has not been possible to locate any documentation pinpointing the exact date of Robert's second marriage. It would appear that Robert kept up very cordial relations with James V of Scotland and the *Treasurers Accounts of Scotland*, more than once, note gifts of horses and hounds for Robert and his wife. In one instance, dated to the 24 February 1531-2, 126 pounds was paid to 'Johne Boy passand with certane hors and hundis send be the kingis grace to madame Dobinze.'²⁰⁶ In 1540, a few years prior to Robert's death and not so long before her own, Jacqueline de la Queuille, adopted her half sister, Anne de la Queuille, perhaps as a result of the death of her mother Anne d'Espinay, the second wife of François de la Queuille. This conveniently allowed Jacqueline to bestow her share of the de la Queuille property on Anne, and arrange for her marriage to Robert's adopted grand-nephew and heir, John Stuart. Therefore, although Robert died leaving no issue by either of his marriages, he at least secured the continuation of the Stuart d'Aubigny line through his grand-nephew, and with it the de la Queuille inheritance.

Robert Stuart's rise to fame was both rapid and brilliant. During his career he witnessed and participated in some of the most important events of the time, and as a key player in this military era he fought and worked with some of the greatest names of the period: Chevalier Bayard, la Trémoille, Gaston de Foix, Guillaume Gouffier, and seigneur de Bonnivet, to name but a few. Yet, for all the documentation of Robert's military and diplomatic adventures, there is another side to his personality which remains largely unexplored. Through an examination of Robert's patronage of the visual arts this great military commander may be reconciled with an equally fascinating, but somewhat neglected, Franco-Scottish patron of the arts.

205 Sir James Hamilton of Finnart (d. 1540) was a Scottish nobleman, the illegitimate son of James Hamilton, 1st earl of Arran. Although legitimated in 1512 he continued to be known as the 'Bastard of Arran'. A key member of the Hamilton family, and second cousin of James V, King of Scotland, he became a prominent member of Scottish society. He was appointed steward of the royal household and master of works to the king. As master of works, he was responsible for restorations to the royal palaces of Linlithgow and Falkland. The king granted him land in Lanarkshire, on which he built Craignethan Castle in 1530. Hamilton murdered John Stewart, 3rd earl of Lennox, who had surrendered to the Hamilton side following the Battle of Linlithgow Bridge in 1526. Soon after this, François I, at the request of Robert, wrote to James V to ensure the four children's safety. Robert was accompanied by his great-nephews, Matthew and John in the 1536 campaign in Provence.

206 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*. VI, 1531-1538, 44. There are also notes of expenses for the transportation of these horses by ship to France. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*. VI, 1531-1538, 17.

The Stuarts' Architectural Patronage: *Aubigny-sur-Nère and la Verrerie*

Although Bérault and Robert Stuart spent much of their working lives engaged in military and diplomatic campaigns abroad, evidence suggests that their family residences in France were of great importance to them. Large sums of money were spent in the construction, expansion, and decoration of two impressive family châteaux: the château of Aubigny and la Verrerie. Furthermore, much of the present form of the town of Aubigny-sur-Nère testifies to early-sixteenth century Stuart d'Aubigny munificence. What motivated this spending? Was such visual display in keeping with that of their French peers? Were investments in civic magnificence one aspect of a larger campaign to establish the family in French society?

Aubigny is a small town situated on the river Nère, approximately thirty miles north of Bourges. A sixteenth-century map held at the departmental archives of Cher shows the town as a strongly fortified settlement at this time, (2.47). An imposing town wall, studded with battlements encircles the town. Inside the town walls are representations of the principle edifices of the borough. The château and the church of St Martin are clearly identifiable.²⁰⁷ Today Aubigny-sur-Nère is renowned for its exceptionally well-preserved early-sixteenth century wood-timbered buildings, which bear testimony to the important role that the Stuarts' played in the patronage of the town.

On 11 July, 1512, Aubigny suffered a terrible fire which was recorded as having destroyed all the houses, with the exception of one.²⁰⁸ The reconstruction of Aubigny was quickly accomplished, due in large part to the support provided by Robert Stuart. Robert permitted the residents of the town to rebuild their homes with wood from three forests on his grounds.²⁰⁹ At the time of this fire, Robert was in Italy, and did not return to France until April, 1513. Nevertheless, permission appears to have been granted sanctioning the use of wood from his forests. The quantity of wood that was required was vast and Thaumassière, writing one hundred and fifty years later, notes that all but two of the surrounding forests were decimated for this project.²¹⁰ As seigneur d'Aubigny, Robert would have felt an obligation to assist the townspeople in the rebuilding of their homes, yet this was not an act of generosity taken for granted. Evidence of the townspeople's appreciation is still clearly visible in the carved decorations on a number of the main building's façades.

207 Buhot de Kersers, 1895, 134; Gessat, 1931, 7; Toulhier, 1994, 10. An early description of Aubigny-sur-Nère is given by Chaumeau, where he mentions that Charles VIII gave the town to 'Bérault Estuard'. Chaumeau, 1566, 274-5.

208 Thaumassière, 1863, III, IX. Fire was a potent hazard at this time and residents of this area would still have had fresh in their minds the great fire at Bourges in 1487.

209 Buhot de Kersers, 1895, 150; Cust, 1891, 62.

210 Thaumassière, 1863, III, IX; Toulhier, 1994, 8.

The *Maison du Bailli*, situated at 13-17, rue du Bourg-Coutant was an important building; its name indicating that it was originally used by town officials. The building remains in a relatively good state of preservation. The wooden beams constructing the upper half are arranged in a St Andrews cross formation, while the wooden supports surrounding the doors, windows, and corner pillars, are all intricately carved with a range of decorative motifs, (2.49). One of the principal examples of pillar decoration is arranged around a niche, now empty, but which originally would have held a carved wooden statue, most likely figurative. Prominently displayed above the niche on each side of the pillar is a salamander. Above this, on the frontal face of the pillar, is a carving of Robert's coat of arms. Although worn, the inclusion of the Lennox element is still just visible. Below this is a carved letter 'R'. We are left in no doubt, therefore, that the decoration refers to Robert and to François I.²¹¹ The letters 'R' and 'A' are also strewn around the pillars, referring to Robert and his first wife, Anne. Above the niche, perpendicular to the wall, are a large 'R' and an 'A' joined by a love knot, (2.49).²¹² The use of these initials indicates a date prior to the death of Robert's first wife, Anne, in 1517.²¹³ Other details of interest include, to the right of the doorway, a carved medallion framing a profile head in the style of a Renaissance portrait medal. The medallion has traditionally been identified as Robert Stuart, (2.50).²¹⁴ The carving itself shows a schematic representation of a man's face, devoid of any identifying characteristics, and it is difficult therefore to make this identification with certainty. The wreath that encircles the profile is a standard Renaissance form and again offers no clues as to the identity of the subject. The medallions proximity to Robert's coat of arms and his initials, however, lends weight to this traditional identification.

The church of St Martin was also damaged during the fire of 1512 and again the repair work was funded primarily by Robert Stuart. A roof boss bearing the arms of Robert encircled by the collar of the Order of St Michael, is found on the fourth bay of the aisle, and testifies to his involvement in the church's restoration, (2.8).²¹⁵ The church, parts of which date back to the twelfth century, was dedicated to Saint Martin and is decorated with an impressive pair of stained glass windows displaying episodes from the life of the Saint.²¹⁶ The windows again bear the arms of

²¹¹ See note 75.

²¹² Although this section of the carving is now cut off by the jutting out of the wall's surface, the letter forms are clearly and 'R' and 'A', rather than 'R' and 'I'.

²¹³ Some of the other buildings are later in date. The so-called house of François I situated on the corner of rue du Bourg-Coutant is ornamented with a damaged, but beautifully carved, relief of the charity of St Martin at the base of which is a carved banner with the date 1519. This building is situated directly next to the church of St Martin.

²¹⁴ Toulrier, 1994, 30.

²¹⁵ A carved cockleshell may be seen on a heavy wooden door of the church dating to this period and may refer to Robert's pride in being a knight of the Order of St Michael.

²¹⁶ The scenes in the window depict St Martin dividing his cloak with a pauper; Christ appearing to St Martin; St Martin being baptised; St Martin dressed as a monk performing an exorcism; St Martin being assaulted by two highwaymen; and his burial. This is a rare example of late-sixteenth century stained glass for the region of Cher,

Robert Stuart, encircled by the collar of the Order of St Michael, and another set of the same arms encircled by a cordelier. At the top of the window are the arms of Aubigny. While the heraldic evidence suggests a connection to Robert, the costume of St Martin dates the windows to *c.* 1600 and therefore suggests that they provide evidence of the Stuart family's patronage later in the sixteenth century.²¹⁷

During the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, the Stuart d'Aubigny family built two grand châteaux; one in the town of Aubigny-sur-Nère, and a second at la Verrerie several miles to the south-east, (Map 1). The Aubigny château was constructed around the same time as the general reconstruction of the town after the fire of 1512. The inclusion of the arms of Robert and his second wife, Jacqueline de la Queuille, on the keystone of the vaulted gateway to the château indicates that it was completed *c.* 1517-43, (2.48).²¹⁸ The château has undergone much remodelling over the years, but follows a basic courtyard plan common to a number of châteaux in Berry from this period, (2.51). The interior was stripped of many of its earlier features by Louise de Kérouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, a later resident; nevertheless, a number of details including decorative insignia have survived as indicators of the patronage of Robert and his second wife, Jacqueline.²¹⁹ Decorative carvings embellishing the ceiling joists of the ground floor rooms display the *fermaillet* enclosing the initial 'R', an 'R' and an 'I' joined by a love knot, and a shield with three cockleshells, drawing attention again to Robert's position as a knight of the Order of Saint Michael, (2.52). An early-sixteenth century wooden door also survives, which is richly ornamented with decorative beasts including a salamander, the emblem of François I. Although worn, it is still possible to make out both the initials 'R' and 'I' carved into decorative medallions, and fleur-de-lis decorating the carved pillars.²²⁰ Another interesting object preserved from this period is an intricately engraved early-sixteenth century bronze bell, (2.53). An inscription in Gothic lettering around the circumference reads 'MESSIRE ROBERT STUART, CHR S AUBIGNY, [1512 ?].' The text is accompanied by four small vignettes: the Virgin holding a lily and the Christ Child; a Crucifixion scene with the Virgin and St John; a crucifix; and an image of the Archangel Michael.²²¹ The juxtaposition of this

however, its late date excludes it from the remit of this work. Grodecki, 1981.

217 I am grateful to Bonner for stressing the relevance of the arms to Robert Stuart in these windows, at a meeting on 01/09/11. De Kersers also refers to the arms as of Robert. Buhot de Kersers, 1895, 142. The windows have been classified by the Académie des Beaux-Arts as late-sixteenth century in date. Deshoulières, 1932, 2-3; Toulrier, 1994, 23.

218 Buhot de Kersers, 1895, 144- 47; Babelon, 1988, 786.

219 Louise de Kérouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, (1649-1734), was the mistress of Charles II. In December, 1673, she was awarded the title of duchess of Aubigny.

220 The second and fourth carved pillars on the door are crowned by salamanders. The first is crowned by a vase or chalice motif, and the third by a lion. The lower half of the door repeats the beast pillar motifs but omits the initial/*fermaillet* insignia. The door is bordered by a rosary design identical to that on the la Verrerie sacristy doors.

221 Previous descriptions of this scene identify it as St George and the dragon, however the figure clearly has wings and the shield with a cross was as applicable to Saint Michael as it was to St George.

last image of the Archangel Michael and the letters 'CHR' as a shortened form of chevalier refer to Robert as knight of the Order of Saint Michael, an honour he was keen to emphasise in the strongest possible visual terms.

Although little of the original interior of the château at Aubigny survives, we are fortunate that an inventory was taken in 1544, providing a clear indication of the sumptuous furnishings and luxurious objects that furnished both of the Stuart's châteaux.²²² The section of the inventory relating to the château at Aubigny, records with particular care an extraordinarily rich array of fabrics and tapestries. Sumptuous textiles were listed in great numbers and with as much care and detail as the silverware, paintings, books, and other precious objects. Among the lists of clothes, hats and shoes, were for instance an entire marten skin, the head embellished with circles of gold, with a ring of gold attached to its nose.²²³ A later entry records the cloak of the 'l'ordre' of the deceased maréchal, most likely the robe of the Order of St Michael worn by Robert.²²⁴ Another interesting entry records a caparison, of embroidered gold and silver fabric, immediately drawing to mind the rich caparison depicted on Bérault's charger in his copy of Giles de Rome's treatise, and the description of the beautifully caparisoned horse presented to Bérault by Alexander VI.²²⁵

The books recorded at the Château at Aubigny are not extensive, but are nevertheless interesting. The inventory lists: a book covered in red entitled the fifth book of Amadis; a small book in parchment covered in black velvet, entitled *Letanye sanctorum*; two books of receipts, covered in black, of ordinances in French; another covered in green satin; a Book of Hours in parchment embellished with silver; a Book of Hours in parchment embellished with gold in the four corners and middle, with a gold clasp and two small gold buckles; another Book of Hours in parchment covered with black velvet, historiated; and lastly in cabinets and other places, several old books of romances, and others in French.²²⁶ Only one book is mentioned in the inventory of la Verrerie: a Bible and New Testament in French, covered in black. It is unfortunate that the compilers of the inventory seem little concerned with giving details of the book's contents, however from this brief list we are given at least some indication of the Stuart's literary tastes. There is evidence of, as we would expect, an interest in chivalric romance. This is suggested by the book of Amadis, and the note of unspecified old books of romances in French.²²⁷ There are no records of

222 Bonner, 2011. This inventory was taken after François I discovered that Mathew Stuart, 4th Earl of Lennox had defected to Henry VIII. He also suspected John Stuart, the earls younger brother of similar treachery and thus commanded the seizure of the châteaux and lands belonging to John Stuart.

223 Bonner, 2011, 95.

224 Bonner, 2011, 105.

225 Bonner, 2011, 93. See note 25. The inventory also lists a horses chamfron of gilded iron. Bonner, 2011, 106.

226 Bonner, 2011, 91, 93, 96, 110. Other documents include papers kept in a fabric bag recording the revenue of the seigneurie of Aubigny, and a number of papers and letters written in a strange language, probably Scots. Bonner, 2011, 93, 95, 97, 110.

227 Often referred to as *Amadis de Gaula*, this text was a chivalric tale, popular in the sixteenth century, but which

either Giles de Rome's text, Bérault's treatise on warfare, or Robert de Balsac's work, and therefore we are left wondering if the book covered in green satin, or other unidentified old books in French, might have included these works. With regards to the religious texts, the three Books of Hours, the Litany of Saints, and the Bible in French, are all standard texts which one would expect to find in the possession of such a family. Although we are given almost no indication about the books themselves, the sumptuous bindings indicate that these would have been prestigious objects. The reference to one of the books being 'hystoriee', suggests at least this one contained images.

A more enlightening account is given in the various records of tapestries found at the château of Aubigny. These included: seven pieces of tapestry 'en façon de parc'; nine of 'des neuf preux'; a further nine of 'Nabuchodonosor'; another of 'de verdure'; and a piece 'de Herculle'; nine pieces of 'de la chasse'; seven pieces with 'oiseaulx et bestes sauvaiges'; and seven pieces 'faict a Sibiles'.²²⁸ Such an array of tapestries indicates that the living quarters at this château were lavishly upholstered, in the most up-to-date fashion for a French Renaissance interior.²²⁹ The carefully recorded tapestries are interspersed with frequent notes of 'tappy de Turquye,' or Turkish carpets or hangings, again indicating a taste for fashionable Renaissance furnishings. A lengthy entry for the decoration of one room in particular details the extent of this luxurious decoration. The inventory records a canopy of green velvet, with figures of gold and silver cloth, embroidered upon which was a portrait of a person enriched with a large ruby, surrounded by three diamonds, with another diamond hanging from the collar, with a great pearl and emerald. The arms of the late maréchal, were encircled by the collar of the Order of St Michael. Although not explicitly stated the canopy appears, therefore, to bear a portrait of Robert Stuart. The description continues to describe a further series of embroideries which were composed of six pieces, also of green damask, featuring great personages in gold and silver, with other enrichments and embroideries.²³⁰ On each piece were two figures, except for two which contained four figures. The inventory proceeds to describe another canopy this time for a bed, made of squares of silver cloth and green velvet, with unicorns of silver, and other devices finely embroidered. The canopy bore the arms of said lord, Robert Stuart, around

dated to the fourteenth century. The first printed edition was published in Spanish in 1508. It was first translated into French in 1540. The French text extended to 24 volumes. The fifth book was translated by Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts in 1544.

228 Bonner, 2011, 98, 101, 102, 103, 107; Ribault, 1971, VI; Toulrier, 1994, 14. A Flemish tapestry of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar dating to the first-quarter of the sixteenth century is at the Musée Cluny, however no complete set of Nebuchadnezzar tapestries survive. The set listed extends to nine pieces and is therefore of great interest. The single piece depicting Hercules is also interesting given that it is more common to find a set of the labours of Hercules. The nine worthies was a relatively common subject for tapestries and the Cloisters in New York, for instance, holds fragments of an early-fifteenth century series of this subject. Regarding the Sibyl tapestries, Jean Robertet wrote a guide describing the twelve Sibyls taking inspiration from Italian sources. This guide may have been specifically aimed at a program for tapestry designs.

229 For French Renaissance interiors and decoration see: Joubert, 1987; Cavallo, 1993; Toulrier, 1994, 14-15; Campbell, 2002; Chancel-Bardelot, 2010-11, 292-315; Nicole Lemaitre's preface to Bonner, 2011.

230 The cloths are described as 'drap' and 'toille'.

which was the collar of the order suspended by two great unicorns. The helm and other enrichments were also included, as were the arms of Robert conjoined with those of his wife.²³¹

The detailed record of this whole decorative ensemble gives an indication of the lavish décor at the château, and of the wealth accumulated by Robert Stuart. His taste for visual display and self-aggrandisement are clearly demonstrated. We are left, however, to speculate as to the identities of the great personages included on the embroideries that accompanied the richly embellished portrait of Robert.²³² The interesting juxtaposition of the figures of unicorns and the collar of the Order of St Michael, draws dual iconographic allegiance to the royal houses of France and Scotland, in much the same way as we saw in the heraldry in ms. 5062.

Other objects which feature prominently in the inventory are various weapons and items which may have been brought back to France as 'souvenirs' by Robert, Bérault, or other members of the household.²³³ Such records reinforce the idea promoted in Bérault's treatise of an interest in artillery and also suggests that the Stuart's patronage was influenced by the time they spent in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere.

The second residence built by the Stuart d'Aubigny family was the château de la Verrerie. This residence gives us an even more complete idea of the good living enjoyed by Robert Stuart while he was in France. La Verrerie is situated beside a small lake in picturesque woodland, several miles outside of Aubigny-sur-Nère and was clearly designed as retreat from which the Stuarts could enjoy country pursuits. The château is designed in a courtyard plan not dissimilar to that at Aubigny. It includes a pavilioned gateway, a late-fifteenth century chapel and an early-sixteenth century Italianate gallery, (2.54). The present château is composed of various building campaigns. The chapel and the living accommodation to the east were built in the late-fifteenth century and were probably constructed under the command of Bérault and Anne de Maumont.²³⁴ The gallery, and much of the decorative work, as we will go on to examine, date to the early-sixteenth century, and was commissioned by Robert. Later additions to the south of the building date to the nineteenth century.

Again the 1544 inventory provides a fascinating snapshot of seigneurial life at la Verrerie

231 Bonner, 2011, 104. The inventory records other canopies including one of crimson satin with foliage, and silver unicorns and another of gold cloth. Bonner, 2011, 98, 105.

232 Ribault suggested a connection between this ensemble and the tournament of the Cloth of Gold, at which Robert was a judge. Perhaps the great personages mentioned were the main players at this spectacular event. Ribault, 1971, VI, n. 8.

233 For instance a variety of decorative swords, daggers, two arquebus', and a dagger decorated with a serpent in a black velvet sheath. Bonner 91, 92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 123, 128. A Spanish guitar, a bonnet of black velvet in the Italian style, a canopy in the manner of a pavilion made from white Milanese fabric, Spanish fabric, numerous boxes or coffer made in the Italian fashion, and numerous references to Catalonian materials. Bonner, 2011, 93, 98, 125, 128, 129.

234 Bérault Stuart's coat of arms appears above the doorway to the spiral staircase in the accommodation to the east.

during the time of the Stuarts. Like the château at Aubigny, la Verrerie was also furnished with a spectacular array of tapestries. The inventory records: four pieces featuring figures and the arms of said maréchal d'Aubigny and his wife; seven large pieces of 'le preux'; nine featuring fountains with the arms of said seigneur and his wife; nine large pieces featuring the labours of Hercules; several of flowers and beasts; six great pieces of Flemish tapestry featuring fountains and pairs of beasts; six Flemish tapestries 'figuree de personnaiges'; seven great pieces featuring 'l'histoire de Perseus'; six great Flemish pieces featuring the Sybils.²³⁵ The subjects of the tapestries recorded, both here and at Aubigny, are heavily weighted towards scenes of chivalry and prowess, and of seigneurial life with images of flora, fauna, hunting, and fountains. The program of tapestries at each château indicate favoured themes: Hercules, the Sibyls, and the Nine Worthies, for instance, appear at both châteaux.²³⁶ The sets displaying Nebuchadnezzar, and Perseus, also stress themes of strength, bravery, and military prowess. From these records, Robert and Bérault are again shown to have been preoccupied with notions of chivalry and warfare. Furthermore, they demonstrate an interest in classical subject matter. The armorial tapestries indicate that Robert was the patron of the majority of these works, and the descriptions of some of the tapestries as Flemish shows that he had gone to the trouble of importing high quality examples from the great centres of tapestry production during this period.²³⁷

The inventory of la Verrerie also includes a list of paintings which provide us with evidence regarding the artistic tastes of the Stuart d'Aubigny family. Whilst the inventory for the château at Aubigny contains only a brief mention of a fabric tableau of Saint Louis, kept in a small wooden box with other belongings of Robert's first wife, the inventory for la Verrerie contains a long list of paintings, both religious, and secular.²³⁸ A good proportion of these works were portraits and fit well with the architectural decoration which will be examined shortly. The list includes: a small round leather box with a portrait of the king of France on gilded tin; two other boxes with portraits of our king on white satin; a black wooden box with a portrait gilded and 'estouffé' with colours, of the

235 Bonner, 2011, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127. The records of tapestries depicting fountains suggest similar designs to the *Hunt for the Unicorn* series at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, (1495-1505), or to the *Narcissus and the Fountain* tapestry held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (1480-1520). Seven pieces of the *History of Perseus* are recorded as having been in the Scottish royal tapestry collection and Charles V is recorded as purchasing eight pieces of tapestry depicting this subject from a Brussels tapestry merchant in 1520. Several pieces of Perseus tapestry survive although again no complete sets. For instance see 'Perseus rescuing Andromeda', (1515-25), at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cavallo, 1993, 544-551; Thomson, 1815, 103. The Sybils were also a fashionable subject for tapestries of this period. In a later copy of an inventory made in 1532 for Florimond Robertet's wife at château Bury, we find four tapestries of the twelve Sybils, as well as another set of the *Labours of Hercules*. Grezy, 1868, 38.

236 The nine worthies are listed at Aubigny, however, at la Verrerie we find 'le preux' which may also refer to this subject.

237 Although the tapestries themselves were produced in Flanders this does not necessarily indicate where the designs for these works originated.

238 'Tableau de Saint Loys ouvré de coucille', Bonner, 2011, 96.

king of Scotland; a great painting of Cleopatra; two great tableaux, one of said seigneur d'Aubigny, and another of the first wife of said seigneur; a tableau of the father of the Count of Lennox; a small tableau of a lady in mourning; and four great gilded tableaux of the four Dukes of Burgundy. There were also a number of portraits which the inventory makers did not identify.

The initial set of portraits described as being kept in small boxes were most likely portrait miniatures, an artistic genre which had only fully emerged in the early-sixteenth century, and one which the French court had been instrumental in promoting.²³⁹ The compact size and light weight of such works made them suitable for private or diplomatic gifts. The small group of these items in the Stuart collection is another fascinating reminder of their dual alliance. The references to portraits of the king of France refer to François I, who may well have presented Robert with such items as a sign of his gratitude for his distinguished service. The reference to a portrait of the king of Scotland does not directly state which king, the makers of the inventory are not likely to have been sufficiently familiar with Scottish royal iconography to distinguish between images of James IV and James V. This could thus refer to a gift received by either Bérault, or Robert, during one of their diplomatic missions to the Scottish court.²⁴⁰

The description of a great painting of Cleopatra is also interesting. This was a larger work, and most likely arranged as part of a small eclectic portrait gallery.²⁴¹ It is notable that this painting was recognisable to the inventory makers, perhaps indicating the inclusion of text, either in the painting itself, or on its frame. Images of antique subjects such as Cleopatra were particularly fashionable among northern Italian painters of this period: both Andrea Solari and Giampietrino, for instance, tackled this particular subject.²⁴² It is possible therefore that this work was obtained, or commissioned, during Robert or Bérault's time in Milan in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The various portraits of the Stuart family are perfectly in keeping with what we would expect of a wealthy family at this time. Interest in accumulating portraits of relatives and diplomatic allies is exemplified, for instance, in the extensive portrait collection amassed by Margaret of Austria, which consisted to a large degree of portraits of figures related to Margaret, either by blood or by

239 In 1526 Margaret of Alençon sent two portrait medallions to Henry VIII to persuade the king to lend diplomatic support in releasing François I's two sons from captivity. The two portrait medallions were covered by lids and contained portraits on paper of François I and his two sons. The images themselves do not survive but this record is considered important evidence for the emergence of the portrait miniature as an artistic genre in France.

240 While it is possible that the painting may have been a copy of the James V portrait by Corneille de Lyon, as suggested by Bonner, 2011, 77, n.163, the description does not entirely support this.

241 The family portraits, other portraits, and religious or antique subjects are all listed together, with no attempt to keep the different genres separate. While the boxed portraits were no doubt kept in a cabinet, the larger paintings would have been displayed on the wall.

242 Andrea Solari, *Cleopatra*, private collection, 1500-24. Brown, 1992, 55-9; Brown, 1998, 246-7. Giampietrino, *Cleopatra*, Louvre, Paris, 1520s. Brown, 1998, 281-6. Both of these artists were 'followers' of Leonardo da Vinci and were active in Milan in the first-quarter of the sixteenth century. In 1507 Solari was summoned to France to decorate the d'Amboise chapel at Gaillon. He remained at Gaillon until at least September 1509. The Robertet family owned a tapestry depicting Cleopatra, Grezy, 1868, 38.

marriage.²⁴³ Records of other portrait collections, such as Anne of Brittany's Italian portraits at Amboise, suggest that other reasons for collecting such works may have been for their exotic appeal, or to satisfy curiosity about the appearance of individuals from other nations.²⁴⁴ The entry of a pair of portraits of Robert and his first wife, Anne, suggests, as they are listed as a pair, that these two works date to before 1517, the year Anne died. A full-length portrait identified as Robert Stuart survives to this day, and still hangs at la Verrerie, however the dimensions of this work and the details of this figure's dress precludes any identification of this work with the portrait listed in the inventory, (2.55).²⁴⁵

With regards to Robert's two wives, there survives four images which should be mentioned: a drawing attributed to the circle of Clouet and inscribed in a sixteenth-century hand, 'Madame d'Aubigni,' at the Musée Condé, Chantilly; a portrait of Madame d'Aubigny, attributed to Corneille de Lyon, at the Louvre, and two copies of this portrait, one at Bristol which includes the text, 'MADAME DAUBEINII,' and another at Versailles which includes an additional ledge with the text 'ANNE STEWART, MAR D AVBIGNY.' All four images appear to depict the same beautiful young woman, (2.56).²⁴⁶ However, all four portraits, in terms of style and dress, clearly date to after 1517, when Anne Stuart died. There are two further possible identifications for this lady: either as Jacqueline de la Queuille, Robert's second wife, or as Anne de la Queuille, Jacqueline's half-sister and the wife of Robert's successor, John Stuart, (Appendix 2a).²⁴⁷ Either way the inscription on the Versaille painting must be incorrect, as either she was not Anne, but Jacqueline, or she was not a

243 Margaret of Austria's, (1480-1530), portrait gallery is discussed by Eichberger, 1995, 225-248.

244 An inventory of 1500, lists 27 Italian paintings, mostly Milanese portraits, probably looted after Louis XII captured Milan in 1499. One of the portraits was inscribed with the word *Genevra*, which prompted speculation that it may have been Leonardo's portrait of *Ginevra de' Benci*. Adhémar, 1975, 99-104.

245 This portrait has undergone numerous alterations over the years. An image of the portrait prior to a recent campaign of restoration is published in Cassavetti, 1977, 11. In the painting's previous state it bore the arms of Bérault Stuart although these were probably not original. Given that the pair of paintings listed in the inventory appear to have been painted before 1517 it is difficult to identify this work with that account. Full-length portraits on this scale did not emerge in France until later in the sixteenth century. The figures clothing, stance, and the general composition appear closer to the portrait types of François Clouet, (1510-1572), (although by a less accomplished artist), than to any earlier French portraits. This portrait may still depict Robert however given an absence of heraldry, inscriptions, or other identifying insignia, this identification is open to question. Other later and no doubt inaccurate 'portraits' of Robert include a painting in the *Gallery of the Famous* at château Beauregard, of 1617. Bentley-Cranch, 1987; Cheyron du Pavillon, 1936. A romanticised depiction executed by Merry-Joseph Blondel, (1781-1853) at Versailles, (Blondel also executed a 'portrait' of John Stuart of Darnley d.1424, as part of the same set). More recently a drawing by François Clouet held at the BnF, Paris, c.1560-70 has been suggested to be of Robert Stuart. The drawing has traditionally, however, been identified with John Stuart, Duke of Albany, and neither identification is without problems, (RC-C-16885). Frizot, & Vogüé, 2007, 19, Adhémar, 1973, 361, Bouchot, 1884, 130, Dimier, 1924-7, 1221.

246 Groër provides an account of these four images but confuses Robert's two wives, suggesting that Anne was widowed in 1443, rather than Jacqueline. Groër, 1996, no. 19. Wilson-Chevalier, continues this confusion. Wilson-Chevalier, 2002, 505; Mellen, 1971, 33,227; Moreau-Nélaton, 1910, 188. There is a fourth painting in the style of Corneille de Lyon at Polesdon Lacey, Surrey, which was often labelled as a portrait of Anne de la Queuille. While the composition is similar to the other three, the features and dress of this lady are different.

247 John Stuart married Anne de la Queuille c.1542, Cust. 68.

maréchale. The costume of the sitter in the three paintings is very close in style to that of Catherine de Medici in a portrait attributed to Corneille de Lyon, c.1536.²⁴⁸ In the la Verrerie inventory we find an interesting note of 'ung aultre petit tableau on est figuré une dame portant le dueil,' or a small image of a lady in mourning. The Clouet drawing inscribed, 'Madame d'Aubigni' is clearly an image of a lady in mourning dress.²⁴⁹ It is possible that this woman was Jacqueline de la Queueille, who was widowed in March or April 1544, several months before this inventory was made, and that it was this drawing that was listed in the inventory.²⁵⁰ Anne de la Queueille was not widowed until 1567 and thus would date this drawing to a good deal later. The most likely identification for the sitter is therefore Jacqueline de la Queueille, and the evidence suggests that the original painting was executed some years earlier than the drawing.²⁵¹ Whether or not this drawing is the tableau mentioned in the inventory, is open to question.

The record of a series of portraits of the four Dukes of Burgundy is also interesting.²⁵² These works may have been obtained in 1523 when Robert was entrusted with the task of bringing law and order to the duchy of Burgundy.²⁵³ The acquisition of these paintings suggest that the Stuarts had a particular interest in great political leaders of the past, and perhaps more specifically in the great patrons of the 'Golden Age' of Burgundy.

The religious works listed in the inventory provide further evidence of the Stuart's aesthetic and religious enthusiasms. They include a tableau featuring the Adoration of the Three Kings, bordered with gold cloth and sown with pearls; a tableau of Our Lady holding Christ, with three roundels containing prayers to Our Lady; an embroidered image of Our Lady made with golden thread, encased in wood with antique pillars and the arms of said seigneur; a tableau of Our Lady and Joseph; a great tableau of Our Lord holding a world, made above and below with gilded antique carving, and with a curtain of green silk; a gilded tableau featuring Saint Jerome cut in wood and a tableau of the figure of 'Cordias' (Herodias), holding the head of St John.

The *Salvator Mundi*, or image of our Lord holding the world is of particular interest. The subject represents an iconographic type commonly found in northern European art during this

248 Groër, 1996, no 18. In c.1536 Corneille de Lyon is thought to have painted the young James V and his prospective French bride, Madeleine. Bentley-Cranch, & Marshall, 1996.

249 She is depicted wearing a white bonnet and high collar, so that the bonnet partially hides her face.

250 For the date of Robert's death see Bonner, 2011, 63. If this were the case it is a little strange that the inventory makers did not identify the figure as Jacqueline.

251 Robert Stuart, (1470-1544), must have been over forty when he married his second wife Jacqueline (?-1545), who was many years younger and still a young woman in 1544 when he died. By the time Anne de la Queueille (c.1525-1579) was a widow in 1567, she would have been about forty-two which does not correspond to the age of the lady shown in the Clouet drawing. Jacqueline was recorded as being a lady-in-waiting for Eleanor of Austria in the 1530s and this provides evidence of an opportunity for when the painted portrait may have been executed. Corneille was the court painter for Eleanor at this time. See note 196.

252 The four dukes of Burgundy being: Philip the Bold, (1342-1404); John the Fearless, (1371-1419); Philip the Good, (1396-1467) and Charles the Bold, (1433-1477).

253 See note 194.

period.²⁵⁴ Evidence suggests that this was a theme particularly favoured by Louis XII, who was represented before Christ as *Salvator Mundi* in a manuscript dating to 1498.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, scholars have suggested that Louis XII was responsible for commissioning from Leonardo da Vinci a version of this subject between 1507-13.²⁵⁶ Equally at the Scottish court, evidence in the form of a manuscript illumination suggests that James IV may have owned a Flemish altarpiece depicting this subject, (2.11).²⁵⁷ This indicates that this was a very desirable subject for a member of the French or Scottish courts to commission at this time. The subject of Salome holding the head of John the Baptist was also very popular during this period and among the numerous examples of this subject dating to the early-sixteenth century is, for instance, Solari's painting executed for his French patron, Cardinal Georges d'Amboise.²⁵⁸

While there is no direct evidence to indicate that Bérault or Robert were actively involved in the patronage of Italian artists, evidence concerning their French peers suggests that this may have been likely. That the Stuarts took an interest in the material culture of the countries they visited is indicated by the repeated notes in the inventory of items brought back to France as 'souvenirs' of their travels.²⁵⁹ It is unfortunate that the writers of the inventory took little time to consider the origins of the paintings they listed, nevertheless the works indicate a sophisticated collection of religious and secular works, of portraits of family members, of political allies, and of great historical figures. The collection contains religious works of various kinds and subjects, yet also classical subjects, some of which may have originated in northern Italy. While the origin of these paintings is unclear, many of the decorative aspects of the building itself suggest that Robert was impressed by what he saw in Italy, and sought to replicate some of the effects back in France.

The Renaissance gallery at la Verrerie bears the arms of Robert Stuart and his second wife, Jacqueline, (2.48), and the interior beams of the gallery are decorated with the same insignia as those found on the beams in the château at Aubigny, indicating that both were constructed under the

254 For instance an unfinished *Salvator Mundi* by Albrecht Dürer, of 1505, and a round *Salvator Mundi* by the School of Hans Memling, 1475-99, are both at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

255 Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 5869, f.1. *Les services et dévotions fait par les rois de France a l'église Saint-Denis, avec les enseignements de Saint Louis et son fils*.

256 There has recently been attempts to identify this work with a restored painting currently owned by a consortium of art dealers, which was exhibited at the National Gallery, London: '*Leonardo da Vinci: Painter at the Court of Milan*', Nov, 2011- Feb, 2012. Snow-Smith. 1982; Syson. 2011, 300-303.

257 The type of carved frame surrounding the altarpiece in this illumination may indicate what the inventory makers meant when they noted that the tableau was carved above and below. That this carving was described as in the 'antique fashion' perhaps suggesting an Italianate frame employing classical motifs.

258 The female figure in this subject was occasionally referred to as Herodias during this period, rather than Salome. Solari, *Head of St John the Baptist*, 1507, The Louvre, Paris. Solari included in the reflection of the platter an image of a face often identified as that of Cardinal George d'Amboise. The story of Salome held a particular fascination for Solari. Further examples of the subject by this artist are *Salome with the head of the Baptist*, c.1506-7, at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and a later version of the subject now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

259 See note 233.

patronage of Robert, most likely in the 1520-30s. The columns supporting the arcade are very finely decorated, with rinceaux, arabesques, fermaillets and are surmounted by elaborate capitals adorned with fleur-de-lis and fermaillets, intertwined with various zoomorphic and vegetal motifs, (2.57-8).²⁶⁰ Above each pillar decorating the façade of the gallery is a carved marble medallion, featuring the head of a young man, or woman, encircled in an ornate frame²⁶¹ The medallions feature the heads of seven young women, each depicted wearing elaborate courtly dress and with elegantly dressed hair, and possibly one male figure wearing the collar of the Order of St Michael. The borders surrounding the medallions feature various motifs including, fleur-de-lis, fermaillets, and cockleshells. While the form of the stone gallery itself is in keeping with developments in French architecture in Berry during this period, the inclusion of decorative portrait medallions suggests influence from Italian sources.²⁶² There are numerous examples of Robert's contemporaries employing Italianate motifs in France, such as the medallions of Roman emperors decorating the courtyard façade at Florimond Robertet's Hôtel d'Alluye, and also in the medallions of Roman emperors and other figures from antiquity used to decorate the château de Gaillon for Cardinal Georges d'Amboise.²⁶³ Furthermore, engravings of Robertet's château de Bury suggest that it also was ornamented with sculpted medallions.²⁶⁴ Yet the sculpted medallions at la Verrerie are quite different from these examples. The figures are closer to sculpted busts than to the types of profile portrait medallions which owe so much to the tradition of portrait medals or coins.²⁶⁵ They do not represent classical heroes or emperors and do not, certainly in their present state, include any textual indication as to their identity, but instead appear to celebrate an aesthetic ideal of youthful beauty. They appear to represent an idealised set of figures dressed in fashionable courtly finery. The sculpted medallion frames bear similarities to the type of glazed-terracotta ornamentation disseminated by the della Robbia workshops, while the sculpted heads themselves appear closer in

260 Buhot de Kersers, 1895, I, Aubigny-sur-Nere; Ribault, 1971.

261 The present medallions are resin copies of the original sculptures undertaken in 1995. Badly weathered remnants of the originals remain in the chapel today. The bust second from the right appears to represent a male figure, the others all appear to be female.

262 Other examples of stone galleries from this area that pre-date la Verrerie, include Jacques Coeur's Palace in Bourges, (1443-51), the Chateau de la Chapelle d'Angillon, Château Nançay, Hôtel Cujas and Hôtel Lallement, Bourges, (all early-sixteenth century).

263 Cardinal Georges d'Amboise employed the sculptor Guido Mazzoni as an intermediary in providing a series of twelve sculpted medallions for Gaillon, another nine were procured by Prigent de Bidoulx. Payments for the installation of the medallions were made between April 1508- August 1509. In 1502 the clerics of the cathedral of Milan authorised Cristoforo Solari to execute six marble medallions for a, 'maréchal of France.' (This was too early for the maréchal to be identified with Robert Stuart). Furthermore at least six oval medallions embellished the gallery of the château of Nançay, belonging to Gabriel de la Châtre.

264 Hôtel d'Alluye, (c.1498-1508); Château de Gaillon, (1502-1510); Château Bury, (1511-1524). Cerceau's engravings of Bury do not show what was depicted on the medallions placed above the arcades. Béguin. 1985, 67-8; Bentley-Cranch, Dana. 1986; Lesueur, 1925; Wolff. 2011. 188-9.

265 On the upper façade of the gallery, however, the decorative frames for the windows include small portrait medallions much closer in style to those mentioned in relation to Robert's peers. The figures in this instance appear to be classical heroes and Roman emperors.

concept to the illuminated medallions of Milanese beauties in the manuscript executed by Johannes Ambrosius Nucetus for François I, (2.59).²⁶⁶ While the original program of the la Verrerie medallions is today obscure, they nevertheless clearly suggest that Robert shared an interest in the type of Italianate architectural decoration that we see favoured by his French peers. The medallions also indicate Robert's appreciation of courtly elegance, as frequently demonstrated in the artistic tastes of the French court at this time.

Further indirect evidence of decorative work undertaken by Robert, may be found in a series of late-nineteenth century copies of murals, thought to date to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, which originally decorated the upper gallery at la Verrerie.²⁶⁷ The original works were in a state of severe degradation by the 1870s when they were described by Buhot de Kersers.²⁶⁸ They were subsequently copied onto canvas and four of them, representing various members of the Stuart family on horseback, are now displayed in the lower gallery, (2.60-61).²⁶⁹ Details of the text that accompanied these images in the form of cartouches were, fortunately, recorded in Harley Ms. 1423 in the late-seventeenth century, (Appendix 2d).²⁷⁰ It is of course difficult to appraise and examine a series of works now only known through later copies, nevertheless the series is of great interest for a number of reasons. The transcription of the texts included in Harley Ms. 1423, suggests that the series of warriors was headed by James IV, king of Scotland. He was followed by various members of the Stuart d'Aubigny family including Bérault and Robert, who are identifiable in the nineteenth-century copies by their heraldry and insignia. It is particularly interesting that James IV is recorded as heading this group, given that the murals were executed after his death. His inclusion tells us something of the enduring fame and high reputation of this particular Scottish king, and also something of the close bond that the Stuart d'Aubigny family cultivated with the royal house of Scotland. It is likely that the patron of the murals sought to glorify himself and the other great mercenaries in his family, such as Bérault, and John Stuart of Darnley, alongside the most famed chivalric king of Scotland, James IV. The form that this glorification took was the equestrian portrait, a subject popular in other medium, such as illumination, sculpture, and tapestry, but which

266 This manuscript contains a gallery of portraits of Milanese beauties married to high ranking noblemen. Each lady is represented in an independent medallion with a removable covering. Johannes Ambrosius Nucetus, Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 2159. Buck. 2008. An interesting earlier, local example of bust length portraits of women in medallions is found in the border of the ninth peril of hell in Jean Colombe's, *Des Douze Périls d'Enfer*, c. 1480, BnF. ms. fr. 449, f. 77.

267 Bonner. 2011, 78, n.165; Frizot & Vogüé. 2007, 84-5; Ribault. 1971. VIII; Cust. 1891. 62-4; Buhot de Kersers, 1895, I, 169; Bengy-Puyvallée. 1842. 43.

268 Buhot de Kersers describes the gallery as being lit by eight windows, four on each side. Painted in the broad intervals between the windows were 'des épisodes de l'histoire des Stuart des Aubigny.' He notes that the paintings were in a poor state and that it was difficult to gather anything more specific than the overall theme of the decoration. He also noted that the costumes, writing, and insignia all suggested a date during the reign of François I.

269 Two further copies of figures on foot were lent to the museum of the old Alliance in the château at Aubigny.

270 Harley Ms. 1423, no. 49, f.103. Cust. 1891, 62-4.

has not often survived in large painted works from this period.²⁷¹ Certainly, as shown, Bérault chose to commemorate his successful appointment in Milan with an equestrian portrait on a smaller scale and it may be hypothesised that this larger commission, sought to draw upon this particular visual legacy, (2.26). Although mobile hangings such as tapestries and embroideries have benefited from greater research, polychrome interior decoration in the form of murals were frequently employed in château interiors during this time.²⁷² For example, murals at the château de Brioule representing the Nine Worthies on horseback were painted as trompe l'oeil tapestries.²⁷³ Although it is difficult to pinpoint the date of the original la Verrerie murals, if they date to the time that the gallery was built in the 1520-30s, they provide valuable evidence for a neglected area of artistic research. However, until further evidence comes to light, their place in the artistic patronage of the Stuart's d'Aubigny family remains hypothetical.²⁷⁴

271 The equestrian portrait was an artistic form particularly associated with mercenary soldiers in Italy. See for instance Donatello's bronze of condottiere Gattamelata in Padua, (1445-50), Uccello's equestrian funerary monument to the English mercenary, Sir John Hawkwood, and Bartolomeo Colleoni by Verrocchio in Venice, (1478-8). Leonardo Da Vinci planned an equestrian monument to Francesco Sforza but was only able to create a clay model which was destroyed by French soldiers in 1499. The Italian sculptor Guido Mazzoni, after travelling to France, collaborated on an equestrian statue of Louis XII which stood over the entrance of the château de Blois, but which is now only known through drawings. In 1528 the Florentine artist, Giovanni Francesco Rustici, travelled to Paris and began work on a bronze equestrian statue of François I. French equestrian statuary appears, however, to have followed its own tradition, largely independent of Italy. A local example is an equestrian statue which originally adorned the façade of the house of Jacques Coeur, Bourges, and is known through a manuscript illumination in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lat. 10103, f.148v. Another is the equestrian portrait of the maréchal de Gié, Robert's predecessor as maréchal of France. In 1499 the maréchal placed an equestrian statue of himself over the entrance to his Château le Verger. The statue is now only known through a drawing in the Gaignières collection. The elaborate caparison and tunic, liberally endowed with heraldic insignia are comparable to what we know of the la Verrerie murals. Mérimond, 1996, 245-251; Scheller, 1985.

272 Antonio de Beatus recorded during a visit to the château de Gaillon, 1517, that the walls of the galleries were 'covered with paintings of various imaginary subjects.' Beatus, 1979, 112.

273 Château de Brioule, Tarne-et-Garonne. Chancel-Bardelot, 2010-11, 61. Furthermore records show that the most prestigious ateliers, such as the Colombe and Montluçons ateliers in Bourges, were involved in painting murals at the end of the fifteenth century.

274 Several scholars have noted two inscriptions which perhaps indicates the name of an artist who worked on the decoration of the gallery. Ribault noted that on a south window of the upper gallery an inscription read, 'Ian van Waveren schilder geboren aus den Hagen in Hollant' and on the frame of the door of the gallery overlooking the stairs of the west tower was noted, 'Ian de Waveren pictor Holandie.' There were two Ian van Wavere's active in Malines at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Both were members of the painters and sculptors guild, and died in 1521 and 1522. Three early-sixteenth century carved wooden altarpieces are signed Jan van Wavere and are probably the work of one of these artists. Analysis of the signatures and styles of these works suggests that this artist was the polychromer rather than the sculptor or the painter of these altarpieces, one of the very few during this period of sufficient reputation to sign his works. The use of the word 'pictor' in one of the la Verrerie inscriptions suggests that the author of the inscription may have been involved in painting the murals, however, the method of signing the window and door frames is peculiar to say the least, and the subject matter of these murals bears little resemblance to the known oeuvre of these artists. If these inscriptions are genuine and date to the time that the gallery was built, it does however suggest that Robert sought skilled artists of high reputation from far afield and indicates that he held Netherlandish artists in high regard. We have already seen that he owned a great number of tapestries manufactured in Flanders. Ribault, 1971. VIII; Bonner, 2011, 78, n.165. For Jan van Waveren see: Donnet, 1921, & Doorslaer, 1930. Amongst other diverse pieces of graffiti in the gallery are the names Robert and Jacqueline and slightly lower 'Jayme Jacqueline.' Other pieces include, 'Gordon vit en espérance', 'semper tui memor ero' and 'Fortuna inimica ... avant mourir'.... Such graffiti brings to mind the sixteenth-century inscriptions by the Scots guards that adorn the walls of the chapel at Chateau Chenonceau, in the Loire valley.

The construction of the chapel at la Verrerie dates to the late-fifteenth century, and may be attributed to Bérault Stuart, (2.62).²⁷⁵ After Bérault's death Robert turned his attention to the chapel and obtained from the Curia an act attaching indulgences for the faithful who attended Marian feast-days there. This December 1509 act, now known through a later copy, tells us that the chapel was under the invocation of the Assumption and the Annunciation of the Virgin.²⁷⁶ The dedication of the chapel took place in March 1511, during a tour of Bishop Martin Ducis. This special devotion to the Virgin Mary, and in particular to the Annunciation, gives a clear indication that Robert was concerned with his need to produce an heir.

The chapel interior contains a number of works commissioned by Robert during his first marriage to Anne, prior to her death in 1517. These include a finely carved tabernacle, which bears the monograms of Christ and the Virgin on either side of the arms of Christ, paralleled below by the initials 'R' and 'A' flanking the arms of Robert Stuart. The initials in the lower panel are tied by a love knot and interspersed with fermaillets, (2.63). The effect is to visually parallel the Stuart family with Holy family. Behind the altar, the two doors leading to the sacristy are ornamented with decorative tympanums bearing finely crafted marble medallions. Flanking each medallion are the gilded letters 'R' and 'A', indicating that they were also added during Robert's first marriage. Above these doors are two impressive, although damaged, sculptures representing an Annunciation scene, (2.64). The sculptures are, of course, appropriate for a chapel dedicated to the Annunciation and underscore the childbearing theme which was clearly uppermost in the minds of the patrons. The sculptures are of a particularly fine quality, and include meticulously carved fermaillets in the border of the angel's robe. It is likely, therefore, that these sculptures were commissioned at the time that the chapel was dedicated to the Assumption and the Annunciation of the Virgin in 1511, and were therefore also executed under the patronage of Robert and Anne.²⁷⁷ The 1544 inventory notes that there was also an altar-cloth of white damask embroidered with an Annunciation scene and with the arms of Robert Stuart, again this probably dated to the same period.²⁷⁸

275 The structural work was largely completed by 1498. A document recording works executed between 1498-1502, notes that a carpenter, Pierre Dadu was employed by Bérault to make an altar of wood for the chapel at la Verrerie and two seats. A painter, Robin Lechou was also employed to, 'peindre leadite chapelle et garnir les fenêtres de toile.' Ribault, 1971, iv, ix.

276 Ribault, 1971, ix.

277 Pajot, 1941, 168-9.

278 The inventory notes a piece of ecclesiastical silverware decorated with an enamel scene of the Visitation of St Elisabeth. According to Luke, Elisabeth was barren and had miraculously conceived John the Baptist in old age. This scene was therefore considered appropriate for couples wishing to conceive. Luke 1:36. Bonner, 2012, 133.

The most conspicuous feature of the interior decoration is, however, the painted ornamentation adorning the walls and vaulted ceiling of the chapel, (2.62).²⁷⁹ The painted decoration on the walls is arranged in two registers, the upper level displays large representations of the twelve apostles, each holding a scroll with the relevant statement from the apostles creed.²⁸⁰ The Apostles are arranged in a colonnade, set against a red background, which is strewn intermittently with fleur-de-lis, fermaillets, and thistles.²⁸¹ At the head of the choir are the four evangelists.²⁸² The lower register of the walls is ornamented with an intricate pattern of bronze cornucopia, masks, and vegetal motifs. The vaulted ceiling is painted azure with gold stars. At the head of the chapel on opposing sides are the sun and the moon. Around the circumference of the ceiling are a series of nineteen painted portrait medallions, ten of which are supported by putti, or angels, standing on floral arrangements and executed in grisaille, (Appendix 2e). At the back of the chapel, on the ceiling, are two painted angels: one bearing the arms of Bérault and Anne de Maumont, the other the arms of Robert and a banner with the arms of Aubigny, (2.65). These two figures have been heavily restored. The supporting beams and pillars of the ceiling are also elaborately painted, giving a clear indication of the date of this decorative campaign. While the horizontal beams are decorated with sunbursts, stars, fleur-de-lis, and fermaillets, the two vertical pillars are ornamented with very specific decorative iconography. The pillar nearest the entrance is ornamented with a thistle above which are the repeating initials 'R' and 'I', a reference to Robert and Jacqueline. Above this are the remnants of fleur-de-lis. The pillar nearest the head of the chapel is decorated with the crowned arms of France over a salamander, and above them is an elegant bunch of white lilies, (2.65).²⁸³ These decorative insignia date the paintings to the time of Robert's second marriage to Jacqueline, during the reign of François I. It is likely that they were executed at a similar time to the

279 This decoration was revealed and restored c. 1930. The ceiling had previously been obscured by a false lower-ceiling and the walls had been hidden behind a layer of plaster, which appears to have been added in the late-eighteenth century. The restoration was undertaken by Ypermann, who had previously worked on the papal palace at Avignon. Ypermann over-painted the last portrait medallion on the right with the portrait of Marie, Countess of Terray, a daughter of his employer, Louis de Vogüé, who had helped with the restoration work.

280 The apostles creed starts with St Peter at the head of the chapel on the left and makes its way back towards the door. It continues at the head of the chapel on the right with St John the Evangelist and again makes its way back to the door. The twelve apostles were commonly found decorating the walls of chapels at this time. John Stuart, Duke of Albany's Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte is ornamented with twelve sculpted apostles, as are the walls of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. The duc de Berry's Sainte-Chapelle at Riom is ornamented with a stained glass window representing the twelve apostles, and Fouquets's miniature thought to show the interior of the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges also shows that it was ornamented by sculptures of the twelve apostles. (The Annunciation, *Hours of Étienne Chevalier*, ms. 71, Musée Condé, Chantilly). Furthermore, a description of the interior of the chapel at Gaillon, notes that it was ornamented with painted sculpted figures of the apostles arranged on pillars. Blanquart, 1899, 17. At the head of the chapel under the four evangelists are two small angels, each holding a banner with the Aubigny arms in one hand and Robert's arms in the other.

281 Fleur-de-lis surround St Philip, while fermaillets surround the image of St James the Greater. Thistles are to be found on each side of a window between St John the Evangelist and St Andrew.

282 On the wall above the entrance to the chapel is an image of St Christopher carrying the Christ Child.

283 The faint outline of a second coat of arms may be observed below that of the royal arms of France. Although this probably bore the arms of Robert no trace of the paintwork survives.

Renaissance gallery, around the 1520s. The group of lilies arranged above the royal arms of France is interesting as they are at once symbolic of French royalty and yet also relate to the theme of the Annunciation, symbolising the purity of the Virgin. Their central position may therefore have been intended to relate to the sculpted Annunciation scene below. The direct juxtaposition of the thistle and Robert and Jacqueline's initials demonstrates that they recognised the Scottish association of this symbol as pertinent to themselves.²⁸⁴

The portraits are surely the most fascinating aspect of the entire painted ensemble. The portraits are profiles set against dark red backgrounds and executed in the manner of portrait medallions or coins. They are surrounded by a simple border of yellow circles on an orange ground. The figures are shown without heraldry, attributes, or text, indicating that the original program would have been readily recognisable to its intended audience. There are, however, several clues that allow us to identify a number of the figures represented. The seventh portrait medallion, for instance, is surrounded by fermaillets and is situated facing another which is surrounded by fleur-de-lis. These two portraits appear to represent the patron and the reigning king of France, i.e. Robert Stuart and François I, (2.66-7).²⁸⁵ The portrait of François I represents the king as a young beardless figure, and is close to an early portrait medallion of the king struck between 1515, when he came to the throne, and 1518, when he grew a beard. This iconography suggests that the paintings were executed soon after Robert married for the second time. Furthermore, the pairing of these two portraits makes a strong visual statement about Robert's wish to portray himself, as a *maréchal* of France, close to the French king. Another medallion which includes visual clues is found on the opposite wall. In this instance the medallion is associated with thistles, both surrounding the supporting angel and on the wall beneath. Furthermore, the figure bears a strong resemblance to the iconography of the Stuart kings of Scotland, and to images James IV in particular, (2.68).²⁸⁶ We know from the inventory of 1544 that the household owned a portrait miniature of the king of Scotland, although it does not indicate which king. The description of the murals in the upper gallery, given in Harley ms. 1423, suggests that here too was a portrait of James IV. It would therefore be consistent to identify a portrait of a Stuart king among these portrait medallions. Other

284 Unlike the symbol of the unicorn, the thistle does not frequently appear in descriptions of the belongings of the Stuart d'Aubignys' and as the chardon had its own popularity in France, it is not always possible to assume that it relates to Scottish iconography. In this instance, however, the conflation of the initials and thistle clearly suggests that it was to be read as a statement of their Scottish descent.

285 This identification has already been made by Mme Scaillérez in 2002. See Bonner. 2012, 78, n. 165. The portrait medallion of Robert corresponds closely to the possible full-length portrait of Robert shown in 2.62. It is likely given the identification of this portrait medallion that the female portrait facing it is of Jacqueline.

286 James IV was killed at Flodden in 1513 and therefore was already dead by the time these paintings were executed. His successor James V was born in 1512 and would only have been eight years old in 1520. During this period John Stuart, Duke of Albany, the subject of the next chapter, was regent. The particularly close relationship between Bérault and James IV was illustrated for instance in Giovio's *impresa*. It seems likely therefore that an image of the late James IV may have been used to illustrate the Stuart d'Aubigny's kinsmen at the Scottish court.

figures illustrated in the medallions include a falconer gesturing towards a bird, which is perched upon a ledge in front of him. The accounts in the 1544 inventory listing accommodation for a falconer, as well as three falcons, and various falconry paraphernalia, all testify to Robert's passion for this particular pastime.²⁸⁷ The medallion is likely therefore to represent a favourite falconer from the Stuart d'Aubigny household. A number of the portrait medallions are, however, difficult to identify with either members of the Stuart d'Aubigny family, or with members of the Scottish or French royal households. These medallions feature general images of figures dressed as either Roman emperors, classical warriors, or personifications of planetary deities or virtues. While the overall program for these figures is now obscure, the inclusion of these classicised types reveal again Robert's interest in Italianate Renaissance iconography.

The formal arrangement of these portrait medallions is also distinctly Italianate in appearance. The use of grisaille putti, flanked by foliage, supporting the medallions is reminiscent of Andrea Mantegna's painted ceiling for the Camera degli Sposi, Mantua: a work which Bérault may have seen on his visit to the Mantuan court in 1494, and which Robert may have also visited during his time in Italy, (2.69).²⁸⁸ The work of Mantegna was particularly popular at the French court in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Cardinal George d'Amboise, Florimond Robertet, Louis II de la Trémoille, and the young François I all sought to own examples of his work.²⁸⁹ It would not be surprising, therefore, if Robert had admired some elements of Mantegna's famed painted ensemble, and wished to recreate some of its effect back in France. While the inspiration for the Stuart's paintings may owe something to Italy, the execution is distinctly French. The painting of the angels in their gathered, flowing robes is closer to the drawings of figures attributed to François Robertet, for instance, than to any Italian artist, (2.69).²⁹⁰

Yet, what makes the la Verrerie paintings so interesting are that they decorate a chapel rather than a domestic residence, and that they clearly originally formed a carefully devised iconographic program of decoration. A program no doubt intended to remind those using the chapel to keep the Stuart d'Aubigny family, their household, and their allies, foremost in their prayers. A parallel may be drawn with the frescos that originally adorned the interior of the chapel at Gaillon. The paintings now known only through an eighteenth-century description were thought to be the work of Andrea

287 The inventory records a 'chambre du fauconnier,' and a 'faulconnerie a esté trouvé troys faulcons.' Bonner. 2012. 130, 132.

288 In this instance the portrait medallions contain images of the the first eight Caesars. Other areas of painted decoration on the walls of the Camera degli Sposi, with its white vegetal and mask motifs on a yellow ground, are also very similar to the lower register of the painted walls in the la Verrerie Chapel.

289 Furthermore, Mantegna's famed painting of St Sebastian ended up in the Sainte-Chapelle in Aigueperse, probably through the marriage of Chiara Gonzaga to Gilbert de Bourbon-Montpensier.

290 Avril & Reynaud, 1998, no. 197.

Solario, who travelled to Normandy at the request of Cardinal George d'Amboise.²⁹¹ The description notes that frescoes adorned each side of the chapel and that on entering one saw to the right a representation of the Cardinal d'Amboise himself, his nephew, and other prelates in his family. This work and the paintings at la Verrerie both preformed the same function: they sought to glorify the patron, and their family, in the context of a chapel, thus prompting subsequent family members to keep their ancestors in their prayers. The portrait medallions at la Verrerie were not, however, the only portraits to be found in the chapel. Among the list of images recorded in the inventory were two portraits of the popes, Julius II and Leo X.²⁹² Perhaps these were paintings acquired either as diplomatic gifts, or again as 'souvenirs' by Robert while he was in Italy.²⁹³

The decorative program for the chapel interior as a whole, at once clearly focusses on childbearing imagery and stresses the Stuarts' desire for an heir, while also commemorating their ancestors, existing family members, and other important figures, both past and present. The use of the portrait medallion implicitly evoked ideas of classical triumph. An illuminated manuscript commemorating François I's victory at Marignano, for instance, uses the portrait medallion to precisely this effect. In this work dating to 1519, François I is unambiguously paralleled with the great military leader, Julius Caesar. The illuminator of the manuscript, Godfrey le Batave, visually expresses this idea by including a portrait medallion of the French king above that of Caesar himself. Furthermore, additional images included in the manuscript, attributed to Jean Clouet, extend this idea by illustrating French generals in portrait medallions. The French generals' portraits are conflated with the names of celebrated Roman warriors. Robert Stuart is not one of the generals included in this manuscript despite his role at Marignano, nevertheless a fellow French general, Guillaume Gouffier, Seigneur de Bonnivet, is included, (2.70). The artist has used the format of the portrait medallion to encourage the viewer to draw parallels between contemporary military heroes and antique heroes of the classical past. Might a similar objective have been sought by the artist of the la Verrerie roundels? Three years after this manuscript was executed, Robert was sent to replace Guillaume Gouffier, as lieutenant-general of the French army in Italy. In the letter confirming this

²⁹¹ Blanquart, 1899, 17.

²⁹² Julius II (1503-1513), a notable patron of the arts was succeeded by Leo X (1513-21). Raphael famously painted a portrait of each of these popes. The original painting of Julius II is now believed to be that held at the National Gallery in London. While the original of Leo X, painted in c.1518-19, is held at the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

²⁹³ The other paintings listed in the chapel include: a painting of Our Lady holding her son; a large painting on top of the altar featuring Our Lady holding the infant and two angels; a small piece of tapestry which featured the Adoration of the Three Kings; a painting with two windows of Our Lady; a 'tableau de toile' encased in wood which featured Our Lady, St Catherine and St Barbara; two small paintings of the head of Our Lord and of St Jerome in the other; a small piece of tapestry...which featured the Coronation of the Virgin; a small 'tableau de toile' encased in wood featuring the Temptation of St Anthony; a small 'tableau de toile' encased in wood of the figure of St Christopher; a large 'tableau de toile' of Mary Magdalene and another large 'tableau de toile' encased in wood of the Crucifixion of Our Lord. While it is a fascinating list of iconography there is little in the descriptions that indicates where these images came from or in what style they were executed. Bonner. 2011, 133-4.

appointment, François I describes Robert as a true and faithful counsellor and chamberlain, while praising his courage, loyalty, experience, and diligence.²⁹⁴ It is likely that la Verrerie chapel medallions were executed in the 1520s following Roberts appointment to this position. The decision to illustrate Robert Stuart facing a portrait of François I may thus have been to commemorate the honours bestowed on Robert by the French king. The conscious use of the portrait medallion format may have been influenced by earlier uses of the portrait medallion by the French court, such as that found in the Batave manuscript. The la Verrerie medallions include visual references to the concept of triumph, and this may go some way to explain the classicising figures in this series of portraits.

So what motivated this spending, both on construction and decoration, of the Stuart d'Aubigny's châteaux? Building impressive family homes was certainly a means by which a family could carve out a permanent place for themselves in their country of residence, particularly important if one's family were relative newcomers. Just as producing an heir was a means of ensuring the continuation of the family line, building a grand family home also cemented the family lineage. Such buildings benefited not only the family themselves, but also the local community as a source of regional pride. Indeed the greatest honour that investing in such a château could have achieved would have been a visit from the king. Evidence in the 1544 inventory recording a 'chambre du roy' at each of the residences, suggests that the Stuart d'Aubigny family were granted such an honour.²⁹⁵ This would have both benefited the family and brought prestige upon the locality. Perhaps it was in honour of this visit that Robert undertook his extensive campaign of decoration at la Verrerie. While the decorative work at the Stuart d'Aubigny residences bears close comparison to the tastes and preferences of their French peers, the message communicated by the Stuart's decorative campaigns are however quite distinct. There is a coherent visual emphasis on not only the family's loyalty to France, but also their Scottish roots: the repeated use of unicorns and thistles, the depiction of James IV at the head of their painted family mural, the inclusion of portraits of Scottish royalty in their collection of paintings, and perhaps also in the chapel portrait medallions, all bear this out. The Stuarts' Scottish heritage was a source of pride, and fundamental to their careers. Just as Bérault's impresa represented him as the buckle between Scotland and France, so too Robert appears to have considered this dual loyalty as intrinsic to his social identity.

²⁹⁴ Bonner, 2011, 146.

²⁹⁵ Bonner. 2011, 102, 121-22.

CHAPTER 3: JOHN STUART, DUKE OF ALBANY, REGENT OF SCOTLAND

John Stuart, Duke of Albany: *Regent and Diplomat*

The dual national identity of John Stuart, Duke of Albany has to a large extent defined all previous examinations of his life and career. The key biographical work on John Stuart, written in 1940, was entitled, 'The Scot who was a Frenchman,' and a more recent evaluation of his life written by Elizabeth Bonner for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography ends by suggesting that, 'it remains to be seen whether he would not be more justly described as the Frenchman who was also a Scot.'¹ Regardless of whether one wishes to define him as Scottish or French, John Stuart played an important role in the history of both countries, and is perhaps the figure that most typifies the complex and constantly shifting balance of Franco-Scottish relations in the early-sixteenth century.

John Stuart was born in the Auvergne, France, in 1482.² He was the son of Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany, who was the second son of King James II of Scotland and his queen, Mary of Guelders, (Appendix 3a-b). Alexander Stuart had been forced into exile in France following rumours that he intended to overthrow his elder brother, King James III, and usurp the throne of Scotland unto himself. Alexander's reception in France had been favourable, and Louis XI had organised his marriage to Anne, the wealthy Duchess of Boulogne. It was to this marriage that John Stuart was born.³ John's father suffered the ignoble fate of being killed by a splinter that lodged in his eye, at a jousting spectacle at which he was an observer rather than a participant.⁴ He was, however interred with great honour beside the altar at the church of the Célestins, Paris.⁵ John Stuart's mother remarried a Savoyard nobleman and lived until October, 1512.⁶

In a letter written many years later by John Stuart to Louise, Countess of Angoulême, Albany notes that he had given his best service to the house of France since he was twelve years old, suggesting that he had entered the service of the king of France as early as 1494.⁷ Following Louis XII's successful invasion of Lombardy in 1499, Albany was present at the king's triumphal

1 Stuart, 1940; Bonner, 2004, 'John Stuart, 1482-1536', *O.D.N.B.*

2 Stuart gives his birth as 1481. Stuart, 1940, 5. Evidence examined later in this work demonstrates that he was born on 8 July, 1482.

3 Michel, 1862, I, 264; Baluze, 1708, I, 344, II, 670-72.

4 The splinter came from the lance of Louis, duc d'Orléans soon to be Louis XII. Stuart, 1940, 9.

5 He was interred next to or above the grave of the king of Armenia. Baluze, 1708, I, 345.

6 Anne de la Tour, (Albany's mother), married Louis, comte de la Chambre and Vicomte de Maurienne. Louis died in May, 1517, and both were buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of the Carmelites at la Rochette in Savoy. Baluze, 1708, I, 345; Stuart, 1940, 10.

7 The letter dates to 1524. *Cal. State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, IV, I, no. 52. In 1498 Albany received a pension of 1500 livres from the French court by 1506 it was 2000 livres. Auton, 1889-1895, I, 98, n.1.

entry into the city of Milan, an event at which the duke would have had ample opportunity to make the acquaintance of his elder and more experienced Franco-Scottish peers, Bérault and Robert Stuart d'Aubigny.⁸ In 1501, Albany participated in a crusade of combined French and Venetian forces against the Turks, to the Aegean Island of Mytilene. On the return voyage Albany's ship was wrecked in a fierce storm, and although many survived the shipwreck, many later lost their lives to cold and hunger. Albany was among those lucky enough to survive and find their way home by way of a Venetian barque which took them to Corfu.⁹ In 1502 and 1503 Albany was given increasing responsibility and employed both in Bordeaux and in Italy. Louis XII's Italian ambitions were, however, increasingly thwarted and his troops soon returned to France having lost all that they had once gained in Italy. On his return to France, Louis arranged for Albany to marry his first cousin, Anne de la Tour, who was then the seven or eight-year-old rich heiress to the comté d'Auvergne.¹⁰ As the earlier exploits of Alexander Stuart had resulted in the family's Scottish estates being confiscated, Louis XII was forced to send a request to James IV asking him to consider restoring them to Albany.¹¹ The endowment of these estates would have made for a more even match between the young duke and the important French heiress. This request does not seem to have been fulfilled, yet the marriage took place nonetheless on the 13 July, 1505. One might surmise that Louis XII had one eye to the future in arranging this marriage, and suspected that Albany could prove to be a very useful diplomat.

The crucial turning point in Albany's life and career came on the 9 September, 1513, when in a devastating blow to the Scottish nation, King James IV was killed at Flodden, leaving the infant James V as his successor. The Scots reacted to these events by arranging for the coronation of the seventeen-month-old James V at Stirling, and by appointing his mother, Margaret Tudor, as regent. Albany thus became heir presumptive and almost immediately ambassadors were dispatched from Scotland, to Louis XII, to remind him of the two countries' special bond, and to request that Albany travel to Scotland.¹² Albany appears, by all accounts, to have been none-too-keen to make this journey and instead arranged for his agent Antoine de la Bastie, seigneur d'Arcy to travel there in his place.¹³ In France, Albany secured his place in a new era of French history. Louis XII died on 1

8 Albany is again found accompanying Louis XII on his ceremonial entry into Genoa on the 28 April, 1507. Auton, 1889-1895, I, 107. He was certainly later very familiar with Robert Stuart who he mentions in a number of his letters. Paris, BnF, *Recueil de lettres originales, Albany, Jean Stuart*, ms. fr. 3075, f.177, 241.

9 Stuart, 1940, 15; Auton, 1889-1895, II, 21, 193-200.

10 Anne de la Tour was the eldest daughter of Albany's mother's brother, Jehan III comte d'Auvergne, and thus she stood in-line to inherit a rich dowry of lands and properties. The importance of Anne de la Tour is demonstrated by King John of Denmark's enthusiasm to secure her in marriage for his son and heir. He was greatly annoyed when the match was secured with Albany. Stuart, 1940, 22.

11 Stuart, 1940, 22; Bonner, 2004, 'John Stuart, 1482-1536,' *O.D.N.B.*

12 *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1424-1567*, 281.

13 Stuart, 1940, 24.

January, 1515, leaving his cousin's son, François, as successor to the throne. When the new king made his state entry into Paris, Albany enjoyed an exalted position in the proceedings.¹⁴ Accounts of this event provide perhaps our first glimpse of Albany's preoccupation with displays of visual magnificence, a trait which would endure throughout his life. Albany is noted for his apparel of silver-brocaded white satin, decorated with birds' wings, wrought in silver gilt, which appeared to flutter as he moved. This was trimmed with gold cord, which was knotted at intervals and embroidered in golden thread, with his motto, 'SUB UMBRA ALARUM TUARUM'.¹⁵ To complete the spectacle he wore a bonnet of white velvet covered in white plumes.¹⁶

While in the early years of Albany's life his interests and preoccupations were predominantly French, it proved impossible for Albany to ignore his Scottish roots for long. Hopes that it would be possible to fulfil James IV's wishes and have Scotland governed by his widow, Margaret Tudor, were shattered on the 6 August, 1514, when Margaret married Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, heralding the immediate relinquishment of her regency. On the 18 September, the following request was sent from Scotland 'to my lord duk of Albany governor of Scotland to cum hame in this realme of Scotland in all possible haist for the defence of the samin and for gud reule to be put and kept in the said realme in all partis'.¹⁷ François I appears to have seized on the clear tactical advantage of distracting the English, by sending, what they perceived to be, a French agent into the heart of Scottish government, leaving the way clear for François to pursue his Italian ambitions. Thus Albany finally arrived in Scotland on 26 May, 1515, whereupon 'the peers and chiefs crowded to his presence; his exotic elegance of manners, his condescension, his affability, and his courtly deportment, won all hearts'.¹⁸ It appears that most of Scotland rejoiced at the arrival of Albany, perceiving him to be the last hope of bringing peace and stability after a tumultuous few years. Albany was symbolically inaugurated as governor of Scotland. It is said that the crown was placed on his head, and his regency was proclaimed to last until James V reached eighteen years old.¹⁹

Of the three trips that Albany would make to Scotland, this first visit was the most successful: he did indeed manage to bring some degree of stability back to Scottish governance. He sought almost immediately to strengthen the Auld Alliance by signing a confirmation of the friendship on the 2 January, 1516. Unfortunately the situation in France was shifting and François I

14 Riding after the duc de Lorraine and before monseigneur de Bourbon, the comte de Saint Paul. Stuart, Godefroy, 1649, I, 271-275.

15 The motto translates as, '*In the shadow of thy wings*'. Psalms 16:8 'a resistentibus dexteræ tuæ custodi me ut pupillam oculi sub umbra alarum tuarum proteges me,' which translates as '*From those who resist your right hand, preserve me as the apple of thy eye. Protect me under the shadow of your wings*'.

16 Godefroy, 1649, I, 273; Baluze, 1708, I, 354.

17 *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554*, 20.

18 Pinkerton, 1798, II, 132.

19 Pinkerton, 1798, II, 133.

decided he could not ratify the treaty without inflaming English hostility, something he was not keen to do. Albany, eager to establish whether he could sway the French king's feeling towards the Scots, sought agreement that he might return to France. Before this occurred on the 29 March, 1516, Albany was awarded the collar of the Order of St Michael in a ceremony held in the presence of, 'Franceis ambassadouris in the abbay of Halyrudhous.'²⁰ This is an important marker for the study of Albany's patronage, as thereafter the coat-of-arms used by Albany bore the collar of the Order of St Michael as its border. On the 2 June 1517, Albany appointed a council to act in his absence, and he ensured that the young James V was safely lodged in Edinburgh Castle, which was to be heavily guarded at all times. He departed for France on the 8 June of that year.²¹

Beyond the great deal of work that Albany undertook in stabilising Scotland in political terms during this period, he also found time, and finances, to indulge his fondness for courtly luxury. Entries in the treasurer's accounts testify to building and repair works undertaken both at Holyrood House and at Edinburgh Castle during this period.²² It also appears that Albany either brought over, or later summoned, French craftsmen to assist with this building work.²³ It has long been noted by historians that Albany's extravagant mode of living was an expensive luxury that Scotland could ill afford.²⁴ We know that Albany kept a troupe of six Italian actors to entertain him, he also employed a number of French and Italian musicians while in Scotland.²⁵ His domestic expenses testify to an expensive taste for claret and other French wines.²⁶ A fondness for sport is suggested by payments for falcons, brought all the way from Orkney and Shetland.²⁷ Furthermore, a liking for play is indicated in the accounts by his participation in games of chess and of dice.²⁸ A finely drawn portrait attributed to Jean Clouet, c.1525, now held at Chantilly, suggests that Albany was an impressive figure and perhaps something of a dandy, (3.1).

20 *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland....*, 1833, 7. Mention of the, 'colar of cokyllzeis,' is also made in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*. V, 1515-1531, xlvi.

21 While Albany did his best to stabilise Scotland during this visit, his task was not easy and he privately commented that he wished that he had broken both his legs before he ever set foot in Scotland! Albany was prone to fits of temper and passionate oaths; he was particularly prone to snatching off his court bonnet and throwing it onto the fire when exasperated. In one account it was said that he burned a dozen bonnets when last in Scotland! *Calendar of State Papers, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, III, II, no. 3405; Bentley-Cranch, & Marshall, 2003, 133, 295; Stuart, 1940, 123, 293.

22 *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot*, V, 1515-1531, lxxvi-lxxix.

23 For instance John Belloun and Pierre Gillis, *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot*, V, 1515-1531, lxxvii, 10.

24 From the 1 July to 1 November, 1515, his domestic expenses are recorded as £3403 17s 10d. *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot*, V, 1515-1531, lxxviii.

25 *Exchequer Rolls*, XIV, lxxiii, 220, 300; *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot*, V, 1515-1531, 53,87, 198, 203, 261, 311, 383, 431, 432, 440. He appears to have employed a French singer and fiddler referred to as Bontanis or Bontemps. *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot*, V, 1515-1531, 44,53, 73, 77, 94, 113, 114, 156.

26 *Exchequer Rolls*, XIV, lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxi, 205.

27 *Exchequer Rolls*, XIV, lxxvii, lxxii, 72, 75; *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot*, V, 1515-1531, xlix, 324. Robert Mertoun took the birds from Shetland and Henry Tulduff from Orkney. He also had some of these Hawks sent to France on the 21 August 1518.

28 *Accounts Lord High Treasurer Scot*, V, 1515-1531, xliv, 78.

On Albany's return to France he once again set about trying to renew the Auld Alliance. This time the governor of Scotland was more successful. After negotiations with Charles, duc d'Alençon, who was acting on François I's behalf, they signed the Treaty of Rouen on 20 August, 1517. The treaty outlined a military alliance stressing each country's responsibilities towards the other in times of war, and furthermore set out an agreement in principle that James V should be betrothed to a daughter of François I.²⁹ Further evidence that Albany had fully embraced the responsibilities that the position of governor of Scotland entailed may be seen in May 1518, when he persuaded the French king to grant privileges to Scottish merchants under letters patent signed at Amboise.³⁰

1518 was also the year that cemented, what would prove to be the other influential side of Albany's career. On 2 May 1518, Madeleine de la Tour, his sister-in-law, was married to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino.³¹ The wedding was a grand and sumptuous affair, held at Amboise, at which the guests were entertained by marvellous spectacles orchestrated by Leonardo da Vinci.³² François I clearly saw this match as an important alliance and no expense was spared in organising the festivities. The marriage was an extremely important event for Albany, substantially bolstering his standing in France by allying him with the powerful Florentine Medici family, and by providing him with a direct connection to the bridegroom's uncle, Pope Leo X; a connection that Albany appears to have been quick to exploit both for his own ends and on behalf of Scotland. This can be seen in Albany's correspondence with the papacy soon after this time, in which the ancient privileges of the kings and kingdom of Scotland were confirmed.³³ Some idea of the de la Tour family's lands and properties can be found in a contract drawn up at the time of this marriage, signed by Albany and Lorenzo de' Medici at the château of S. Saturnin on 22 July, 1518.³⁴ The contract details the split of properties between the two sisters, Anne and Madeleine, and their

29 'If England should make war against Scotland or France, they will assist one another in defence.....If the promise by Francis to the Catholic king or his brother of his younger daughter does not come to fulfilment, and if she reaches age for marriage, Francis will give her to James: if the promise is implemented, and Francis should be blessed with another daughter James shall have her when she is of marriageable age.'*The letters of James V, 1513-1542*, 51-52. Albany was almost immediately rewarded for his efforts with a gift of 10,000 livres tournois from François on 28 August, 1517.

30 Stuart, 1940. Appendix C. At this time Albany also began to negotiate for the setting up of the Scottish staple at Middleburg. These negotiations dragged on until 1522.

31 Marie Stuart mistakenly gives the date of the marriage as 16 January, 1518. Stuart, 1940, 96-7. Raphael was commissioned prior to the marriage to paint a portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici. As neither the duke nor his bride-to-be had met before the marriage negotiations, an exchange of portraits was arranged. A reciprocal portrait of Madeleine was dispatched from Amboise around the 29 January. This portrait could have been one of the three portraits of Madeleine recorded in her daughters inventory, (now lost). The painting by Raphael was sold at Christie's in London on 5 July, 2007, and was bought by a private collector for 18.5 million pounds.

32 Documents published by Solmi in 1904 show that Leonardo da Vinci was employed at Amboise in 1518 in arranging the spectacles for the double celebration of the baptism of the kings son, Henry II, and the marriage of Madeleine and Lorenzo. Within these accounts Albany receives special mention. Solmi, 1904, XXXI, 389-410. The bridal couple remained at Amboise until 26 June, before returning to Italy, making a state entry into Florence on 7 September. Kemp, 1987, 46, 100.

33 *The letters of James V, 1513-1542*, 68-9.

34 Baluze, 1708, II, 684-5.

husbands. The Duke and Duchess of Albany were to inherit the châteaux of Vic, Buron, la Ferté Chauderon with Precy, Claviers, Mirefleur, Ybois, S. Babel, Coupel, Busseol, Mercurol, Las, Montés, S. Christofel, Ravel, and Tignières with la Rode; also the towns of Arthonne, Riom, and Reignac. While the Duke and Duchess of Urbino were granted the towns and châteaux of S. Saturnin, S Sandoux, de la Tour, Besse and Bouge; the towns of S. Amant, Cousde and Leuroux with Champerouze, the châteaux of Montredon, Chanonnat and Montpeyrux etc. In a series of events that Albany could never have predicted, his importance was greatly enhanced once again. Within several months of the birth of Madeleine and Lorenzo's only child, Catherine, at Urbino on the 19 April 1519, both parents had died.³⁵ This left the young child's closest relatives as Pope Leo X and Albany. François I decided that the child should inherit her parents' share of the de la Tour lands and properties, making Catherine de Medici a great heiress in France. Following the death of Pope Leo X on the 1 December 1521, Albany was appointed Catherine's tutor and guardian, as her closest male relative.

Since Albany's return to France, all had not been going well in Scotland. Various factions of nobles were once more at loggerheads, culminating in the murder of Albany's appointed lieutenant, Antoine d'Arcy.³⁶ The unrest continued, and in the spring of 1520 Lord Fleming was sent to France to once again try to persuade Albany to return to Scotland. In the memoranda that he brought to France there appear to be thinly veiled threats, regarding the safety of both the king and country, and to Albany's position as governor.³⁷ Early in the summer of 1520, Albany travelled to Rome at the pope's request and took this opportunity to present James V's obedience to the papacy, thus a papal bull issued at this time states that the Scottish king had been taken under the pope's protection and confirms Albany's position and authority as governor and as James' tutor, (3.2).³⁸

Towards the end of November, 1521, Albany returned to Scotland and one of his first actions on arriving in Edinburgh was again to renew the Auld Alliance. Not unexpectedly Albany's return ruffled the feathers of the English court, and it is around this time that Albany begins to be plagued by rumours regarding an inappropriate relationship with Margaret Tudor. It is plausible that the origin of these accusations lay with Henry VIII's court, and in particular with Cardinal Wolsey.³⁹

35 They were interred with great magnificence in the Medici chapel at the church of San Lorenzo, Florence. Lorenzo de' Medici's tomb is ornamented with *Twilight* and *Dawn*, sculpted by Michaelangelo. Lorenzo was immortalised in the sculpture known as the *Penseroso*, depicting him in a pensive attitude. He is dressed in antique armour and overlooks the tomb. Baluze, 1708, I, 352.

36 Antoine d'Arcy was murdered in September, 1517, by members of the Hume family. François I expressed grief and anger at this incident.

37 *Papiers d'Etat, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus relatifs à l'histoire de l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle*, I 17-23; *The letters of James V, 1513-1542*, 76.

38 *The letters of James V, 1513-1542*, 79-80.

39 In a letter dating to 14 January, 1522, Henry VIII stated that the Scots had given the 'charge of James to a stranger of inferior repute, intending to sever the queen from her husband and marry her himself, to the great danger of the king, the ruin of the queen, and Henry's honour.' Albany, however, gave every indication of being happily married in

The Scottish nobles, however, seem to have taken little notice of the furious warnings emanating from England. In July-August 1522, English forces invaded northern France, and Albany countered this move by leading Scottish troops towards the West March, intending to invade England. His Scottish troops, however, in an act of either extreme caution or mutiny, refused to cross the border. Soon after this débâcle, Albany retreated to France, hoping to rally troops and support from the French king. Albany appointed a new council to act in his absence and promised to return before the 15 August, 1523. Albany must have left Scotland on this occasion a little more weary and cautious after the difficulties he had faced, both from England and from within Scotland itself.

Albany did not make it back to Scotland when he had promised, however, on the 20 September he did return. This time he arrived with a fleet of eighty-seven vessels, four thousand men-at-arms, one thousand harquebusiers, and six hundred horses. Pinkerton describes Albany's military supplies as containing ingenious artillery such as 'a sort of artillery mounted on a car of two wheels, and armed with two large swords before'.⁴⁰ 'The tide of French gold,' he continues 'which flowed on the regent's arrival, again set on float in his favour the hesitating resolutions of most of the peers. The others were struck with consternation, on beholding his sumptuous preparations, and the pomp of war which shone about his person, though they knew that the lion's formidable garb only arrayed a deer.'⁴¹ While the Scottish nobles were clearly dazzled by the munificence with which Albany dispensed his funds, on the whole the Scots appear to have found this influx of Frenchmen irritating. The French army was expensive to maintain and slow and cumbersome to move. Three days after Albany's return to Scotland, English troops crossed the border and destroyed Jedburgh. Albany's response to this setback appears to have been delayed, and when he finally responded it was an unmitigated disaster. Albany was unable to capture his target, Wark Castle, and after a siege of only three days he was forced to retreat back over the river Tweed. This retreat dealt a deadly blow to Albany's prestige in Scotland, and he was keen after this to return to France as soon as possible. The Scots, however, were less keen to let him leave so soon. In fairness to Albany, there is some indication that his wife, Anne de la Tour, had been suffering from ill-health for some time now and it is probable that he would have been anxious to return to her. The Scots finally agreed to his return to France for three months only, warning him that he must return by the 31

France and his reluctance to travel to Scotland for long periods makes it seem doubtful that he would willingly give up his land, property and status in France to take up residence in Scotland with Margaret Tudor. *The letters of James V, 1513-1542*, 86; Stuart, 1940, 115-6. Lord Dacre writing to Wolsey appears to have been instrumental in spreading the rumour suggesting that they were 'over tender.' He notes that 'Aid must be given to the Scotch lords, or the young king will be destroyed, and a Frenchman will be king and marry the kings sister'. *Calendar of State Papers, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, III, II, 1883 & 1897. This episode tells us a great deal more about the English fear of having a 'Frenchman' in such a position of power in Scotland than it does about what was actually occurring at the Scottish court.

40 Pinkerton, 1798, II, 223.

41 Pinkerton, 1798, II, 223.

August 1524, or his governorship would come to an end. On the 31 May 1524, Albany set sail to France, never to return to Scotland.

Anne de la Tour died soon after she made her last will, which was signed on the 16 June, 1524. She died at the château of Saint Saturnin, Auvergne, and left most of her properties to her niece, Catherine de Medici, while she left a good deal of her personal possessions to her husband, Albany.⁴² Albany's regency was terminated in July 1524, when Margaret Tudor arranged for the then twelve-year-old James V to be declared of age. Albany continued, however, to employ his title in France and elsewhere until *c.* 1530, the originally agreed end of James V's minority. In a letter written by the young James V to the duke at this time, he expressed a wish that relations between the two remain friendly, noting that he hoped that Albany, '...will remain as good a friend as ever to the realm and its king, who will do his best to respond, for there is none more closely allied to him by affection and blood.'⁴³

Now that Albany had returned to France, he fell back into the service of François I. While François busied himself with the disastrous siege of Pavia, he sent Albany at the head of six thousand men to conquer the kingdom of Naples. It is clear that Albany was not a great military strategist, unlike his fellow Franco-Scot, Bérault Stuart. While Bérault had successfully conquered Naples at the start of the century, Albany, failed miserably in this endeavour. This disappointing episode in Albany's career has led to his condemnation by military historians, perhaps none more so than Charles Oman who said of this episode that it was a 'queer choice' to entrust this delicate mission to Albany who had 'twice shown himself unable to manage an army in Scotland.'⁴⁴ It seems that Albany set about this mission with a decided lack of focus. He never actually reached Naples, instead travelling at snails-pace only as far as Rome. While in Rome, Albany, did at least manage to re-establish Franco-papal relations, and it is likely that while he was there he took the opportunity to renew his acquaintance with Catherine de Medici.

Back in France, Albany continued to take a close interest in Scottish affairs. There was even the suggestion that the Scots had tried to reactivate his governorship, and while nothing came of this, rumours persisted over the following years that Albany intended to return to Scotland.⁴⁵

42 Among those things listed are: furniture, dishes, gold rings, money, precious stones, beds, tapestries, corn, wine, household utensils and all personal property that belonged to Anne on the day of her death. Baluze, 1708, II, 689.

43 *The letters of James V, 1513-1542*, 111-112.

44 Oman's damning opinion of Albany is evident throughout this work. He describes him as a 'fickle and in-consequent person, who succeeded in disgusting the Scottish nobility,' and describes his military career as 'contemptible'. He notes that at the invasion of Lombardy in, 1513 'we are surprised to find on this expedition the wandering Scottish prince John, Duke of Albany, as leader of a *compagnie d'ordonnance*.' Furthermore, he describes Albany's regency in Scotland as 'feckless'. Oman, 1937, 153, 192, 323.

45 In a letter from James V to François I, dating, 1527, James notes that 'A rumour comes that Albany at the instigation or with the co-operation of Robert of Aubigny and with the assistance of François himself, is collecting ships and men to send to Scotland soon, without seeking or awaiting consent from James. He cannot contemplate their unexpected advent with equanimity, as he fears the gravest results in the kingdom.' Robert d'Aubigny had already

Essentially, Albany was a far better diplomat than soldier. While he demonstrated all the qualities and manners of a highly successful negotiator, he demonstrated few of the skills required of a great mercenary. His diplomatic skills were tried repeatedly, in his dealings with Scotland, but also when he came to act as chief negotiator for the marriage of his niece, Catherine, and the French king's son, the duc d'Orléans. It was in relation to these marriage negotiations that Albany played host to François I in July, 1533, when the king paid a visit to Albany's county of the Auvergne while on an extended tour of his territories. This visit appears to have been in recognition of Albany's negotiating skills in securing the match between his niece and François' son. In August 1533, Albany returned to Italy to escort Catherine to southern France for her wedding. The marriage certificate was signed by Clement VII and François I on the 27 October, and the following day the young couple were married by the pope. The marriage was celebrated with a great banquet, a masked ball, and festivities that lasted for many days.

Albany and his wife, Anne de la Tour, had not produced any children, and following Anne's death Albany did not remarry.⁴⁶ François I saw fit, in 1534, to ensure that the lands and properties that Albany had claimed through his wife from his father-in-law's estate now went to his son and Catherine de Medici. That Albany had no legitimate heir certainly affected this decision.⁴⁷ Perhaps Albany's last great role was the part he played in orchestrating the marriage of James V to Madeleine, the daughter of François I. Ever since the Treaty of Rouen had first suggested a match between the young king of Scotland and a daughter of the king of France, it seems that this was a match destined to take place. Despite numerous offers of other European princesses, James V appears to have set his heart on a French bride. With Albany acting on behalf of James V, long and protracted negotiations took place trying to secure the union. François I seems to have been less than enthusiastic about this match, stalling the talks whenever he got the chance. Nevertheless, there appears to have been genuine affection between the pair when they finally met and married in 1537.⁴⁸ During 1536, when Albany was ensconced in these negotiations he fell ill. Retiring back to his homeland of the Auvergne, he died at château Mirefleur on the 2 June of this year. It is recorded

been linked to Albany the preceding September, when they had both attended an assembly of the knights of the Order of St Michael at Compiègne. On this occasion both Aubigny and Albany were accorded the honour of riding at François left hand. *The letters of James V, 1513-1542*, 144.

46 Evidence suggests that Albany had an affair while in Scotland with Jean Abernethy, who bore him a daughter. This girl, Eleanor Stuart, was Albany's sole offspring. Later in life Albany appears to have sent for Eleanor and she travelled to France. Records show that Eléonore Stuart married in October, 1547, with great pomp and in the king's presence, to Jean de l'Hospital, comte de Choisy, gentleman of the king's chamber and tutor of François, duc d'Alençon.

47 Stuart, 1940, 250.

48 Madeleine and James V married on the 1 January, 1537, at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, followed by months of festivities and celebrations. Madeleine and James V set sail for Scotland and landed in Leith on the 19 May, 1537, however Madeleine, whom had always suffered from ill-health, appears to have found the change too harsh and died on the 7 July, 1537. She was interred at Holyrood Abbey and James V proceeded to marry Mary of Guise the following year.

that both he and his wife were interred in their prized religious foundation, the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte.⁴⁹ Albany's will does not appear to have survived.

John Stuart, Duke of Albany, was a complex character, who was at the heart of numerous intricate political situations in the early-sixteenth century, situations in which events often seemed not to go the way he had hoped and planned. As a result of this, he has been derided by many historians, perhaps a little unfairly. The first historian who really redressed balance, and championed his cause, was Marie Stuart in her work of 1940, 'The Scot who was a Frenchman.' Yet, surprisingly for a character of such wealth, importance, and influence at this time, there appears to be no study of Albany's artistic patronage. This is, as will be demonstrated, something of an oversight, as through a study of Albany's patronage of the visual arts we are provided with an interesting insight into his character, tastes, and political, and social objectives both within Scotland and France. As will become clear, he was a man of princely habits and royal ambitions, who made every effort to demonstrate his eminence through an astute manipulation of the visual arts.

49 Baluze, 1708, I, 357.

Arms and Wings: *The Duke of Albany and his Self-Image*

Tracing the patronage of a historical figure relies on particular visual clues: heraldry, mottos, and emblems are among the most important. These visual signifiers can aid not only attributions, but also tell us something of the value and meaning attached to a work. Heraldry informs us of a figure's family history, lineage, and alliances, while mottos and emblems reveal concepts that were important to that figure. In terms of 'self-fashioning' these visual indicators provide invaluable information regarding loyalties, self-image, social identity, and aspirations and are crucial to understanding the motivation behind their patronage of the visual arts.⁵⁰

John Stuart, Duke of Albany, inherited his coat of arms directly from his father, Alexander. The arms display Alexander's major fiefs and are described as: Quarterly; first, or, a lion rampant gules, armed and langued azure, within a double tressure flory counterflory gules (Scotland); second, gules, a lion rampant argent, on a bordure argent, charged with eight roses gules (earldom of March); third, gules, three legs embowed and conjoined at the thigh, argent spurred or (lordship of Man); fourth, or, a saltire and chief gules (lordship of Annandale). The arms visually convey the close relationship of Albany to the royal house of Scotland, and display his hereditary titles: earl of March, lord of the Isle of Man, and lord of Annandale.⁵¹ Two sixteenth-century examples of Albany's arms may be found in the *Scot's Roll* at the British Library, and the *Armorial of Sir David Lindsay*, at the National Library of Scotland, (3.3-4). Judging by the date of each work the arms most likely refer to John Stuart, rather than his father, Alexander.⁵² Another early example of Albany's arms may be seen on his seal, an example of which dating to 1510 is held at the National Archives, Kew. Although badly damaged, Albany's arms are evident on both the seal, and the signet, used as a counter seal, (3.5). This example of the duke's arms is interesting as it shows them crowned and surmounted by a small saltire. Supporting the arms are two bears, or similar beasts, with chains attached to collars that terminate in rings. The two supporting beasts are badly damaged, as is the inscription, which is almost indecipherable.⁵³ The use of these supporting beasts

50 'Self-fashioning' was a term coined by Stephen Greenblatt in relation to the process of constructing identity and public persona in relation to literary figures of the English Renaissance. Greenblatt. 1980.

51 The lordship of Man was titular only, having been in English hands since c.1333.

52 Another interesting example of Albany's arms may be found on a roof boss of the heraldic ceiling at St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen. The ceiling was completed under Bishop Gavin Dunbar in 1520-1, therefore while Scotland was still under the regency of Albany. Albany's arms appear on the South row, 3rd from the altar. He was situated behind James V and St Margaret of Scotland and beside James Beaton and Charles V. The ceiling acts as a visual display of Scotland's self-perceived place among the great European powers of the early-sixteenth century.

53 Also of interest is the description of a seal used by Albany, now held at the Vatican, which Galbreath describes as 'a shield of arms, Scotland; surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Thistle and ensigned with a coronet'. 24 July, 1515, Vat. A.A.Arm. I-XVIII, 4090, 4091, 4092, 4100 (S A Vat. I, 986). Galbreath, 1948, 27, 139. This seal is also mentioned in McAndrew, 2006, 279. Galbreath lists one other seal for Albany; Paris, BnF, Clair r. 134, p.1945.

on Albany's seal may also be seen on a seal attached to a charter now held at the British Library, dating to 1 June, 1517, (3.6).⁵⁴ The bear was a heraldic device implying boldness and courage.

Following Albany's marriage to Anne de la Tour in 1505 his arms were often portrayed conjoined with those of his wife. For instance, these arms are incorporated repeatedly into the interior decoration of Albany and his wife's religious foundation; the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte. Although these particular examples of the Albany-de la Tour arms suffered badly at the hands of French revolutionaries, we are fortunate that Baluze preserved them, as they originally looked, in an engraving from the early-eighteenth century, (3.7). The arms are encircled by the collar of the Order of Saint Michael, an award that, as already established, Albany was granted in 1516.

A small gold medal which also bears the conjoined arms of Albany and his wife, dating to 1524, is held at the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, (3.8). The obverse of the medal displays the crowned arms of Albany and his wife, with a cross behind, and the inscription, 'IOANNIS.ALBANNIE.DVC.GVBERN,' as a proud statement of Albany's position as governor of Scotland. The reverse of the medal shows the arms of Albany alone, crowned, and encircled by the collar of the Order of Saint Michael. Above the coronet stands the holy dove, with wings outstretched beneath a cross. The dove's head is encircled by a halo, and the inscription around the circumference of the medal reads, 'SVB VMBRA TVARVM,' the same motto that was mentioned in the accounts of Albany at the coronation of François I in 1515.⁵⁵ It is fortunate that a piece of documentation linked to these medals survives. In a letter from Thomas Wharton to Wriothesly, dating to 1546, Wharton noted that 'I do send unto your lordship a piece of gold coyned in Scotlande the tyme the Duk of Albanye being ther and as it was said this same piece and others was coyned at his commandement of the same pieces of gold evin, as they were gotten, and of this same fynnes in Crauford Moore.'⁵⁶ This passage is interesting, as it suggests that the medals struck for Albany were made from Scottish gold, found on Crawford Moor, and thus infers that this was the work of a Scottish goldsmith.⁵⁷ There are at least two other casts of this particular medal, one at the

(Clair 58). While Macdonald lists five seals for the duke held at the British Museum. MacDonald, 1904, 327-8.

54 This seal is attached to an acquittance by Albany for the receipt of 2,500 livres, being a portion of the sum of 10,000 livres to be paid for the great ship '*la Michelle d'Escosse*', sold to Anthione Du Prat, chancellor of France, 1 June, 1517. [Add. Ch. 1525]. *The Great Michael* was, on its launch in September 1511, the largest warship in Europe. She was built for James IV and it was said that all the woods of Fife were used to build her. (Pitscottie). She carried among her armament the famous canon, *Mons Meg*. After James IV's death the ship was sold to Louis XII of France on 2 April, 1514, for 40,000 livres. This acquittance was part of ongoing negotiations regarding the payment for the ship.

55 For this medal see: Hawkins, 1885-1911, I, 28; Cochran, 1873, 13, 47-8; Cochran, 1884, 35-6. Evans, 2006, 102; Nisbet, 1718, 191. See note 15.

56 *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, V, IV, no. dxciii, 575.

57 The first documented recovery of gold from Crawford Moor occurred under the rule of James IV. The crown of Scotland was remodelled in 1540 by John Mosman who had been commissioned by James V. In addition to the original damaged crown, Mosman received forty-one ounces of gold which had been mined at Crawford Moor,

Huntarian Museum in Glasgow, and another in the Cabinet des médailles, Paris. Furthermore, several variations of this medal also exist. A description by Adrien Blanchet of a medal again held at the Cabinet des médailles, Paris, bears a slightly different arrangement of the dove and the motto, and displays a slightly different inscription.⁵⁸ Even more intriguing is a third version of the medal, which is known today only through a sketch and description, published by an eighteenth-century German coin-collector, Johann David Köhler, (3.9).⁵⁹ No existing example of this version of the medal is known, however the sketch and description published by Köhler has been repeatedly cited by historians of Scottish medals and coinage.⁶⁰ This particular version of the medal features the same reverse as the National Museum of Scotland version, with the dove and the motto: SVB VMBRA TVARVM, however, the obverse bears a curious cypher monogram of the duke's name and an enigmatic legend. There is no reason to doubt Köhler's description and sketch of this medal, and it resembles a slightly later medal produced for George Lord Seton, Master of the Household of Mary Queen of Scots, (3.10). This example was made by an Edinburgh goldsmith, Martin Gilbert, and dates to 1562. The similar use of a monogram suggests that a taste for slightly cryptic medals spanned the sixteenth century, and may have enjoyed particular popularity in Scotland.

Of particular interest, with regards to these medals, is a small section of an inventory taken of Albany's belongings at château Mirefleurs after his death in 1536. This includes the following two interesting entries: 'Plus quatre vingtz quinze pièces dor descosse aux armes aud. Feu Seigneur et le saint esprit avaluez par son brevet six escus pièce, montant cinq cens soixante dix (escus),' and secondly, 'Plus cinquante pièce dor marquées dung cousté du saint esprit et de lautre ung chiffre, advaluez par led. Brevet à cinq escus pièce qui font deux cens cinquante escus.'⁶¹ This extract of the inventory was published by Fouilhoux in 1926, but remains completely unexamined by later historians. These two entries are compelling as they mention two sets of gold pieces which originally belonged to Albany. The first set is described as eighty-five pieces of Scottish gold with the arms of the Duke of Albany and the Holy Spirit, amounting to a value of five hundred and seventy écus. The second entry mentions a further fifty pieces of gold, marked by the Holy Spirit on one side, and a cipher on the other, valued at two-hundred and fifty écus. These entries appear to describe two of the sets of medals we have just discussed. This suggests that these were works produced in large numbers, and it seems likely that they were intended as diplomatic tokens or gifts;

together with an additional twenty-three precious stones with which to work. Crawford Moor was called, 'God's treasure house in Scotland' by Colonel Borthwick, mines director in 1684.

58 Blanchet, 1892, I, 33, 266-8.

59 Köhler, 1749, 33.

60 Hill, 1920, 169; Cochran, 1884, 36; Hawkins, 1885-1911, I, 28.

61 Fouilhoux, 1926, 351. Fouilhoux does not provide a reference for the inventory and does not discuss the contents in any detail. He did not, therefore, make the connection between these entries and the medals.

items to be used to influence friends, demonstrate Albany's magnificence, and buy favours.⁶²

By examining Albany's medals, and the documentary account of his apparel at the entry of François I into Paris, 1515, it becomes clear that the wings motif, in relation to the motto, *Sub Umbra Tuarum*, was a device he used throughout his career, both during his time in Scotland and in France. This encourages the attribution of another interesting group of objects to Albany's patronage. At the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, is a painted enamel copper plaque. The plaque displays an oval wreath of laurel leaves framing a pair of wings, which are entwined with a banderole, displaying the motto: 'SVB VMBRA TVARVM'. The banderole and wings are white, the ground lapis blue, the leaves green with clusters of fruit, and the ties are amber. In the corners, gilding indicates sprigs of leaves. The counter-enamel is not entirely transparent, but is speckled reddish-brown, (3.11).⁶³ Enamel plaques bearing primarily arms, devices, and mottos were relatively uncommon during this period, and it is not certain how this work would have been displayed, or what its original purpose would have been. Intriguingly, two other versions of this enamel plaque survive today: one at the Musée municipal de l'Evêché, Limoges, and another at the Louvre, Paris, (3.12 – 3).⁶⁴ The plaques are all of very similar dimensions and bear the same decorative arrangement. They are not however identical, and the minor differences suggests a free-hand approach to their execution, rather than a strict adherence to a template. The works are all of a similar quality, and appear to date to approximately *c.* 1525-36. While the Louvre plaque has in the past been attributed to the famous enamel painter, Léonard Limosin, it is difficult to fully support this attribution. Nevertheless, the quality of composition and execution of each of the works certainly suggests an attribution to a figure in the circle of this famous sixteenth-century enamel painter.⁶⁵ The plaques bear a distinct resemblance to a series of similar works depicting the twelve

62 I can find no evidence to confirm whether the practice of placing coins in the foundations of buildings, as was the case in Italy, was practised in Northern Europe. Other uses of coins included their addition to graves as offerings, and their use as personal tokens of devotion left at holy sites by pilgrims. Spufford, 1988; Travaini, 2009. A medal was struck by James III of Scotland in the 1470s specifically for presentation at the shrine of St John the Baptist at Amiens. It seems that James III was unable to undertake the pilgrimage himself, and therefore the medal was sent as a token of his devotion. Given Albany's interest in relics and fondness for displaying his piety, similar usage should not be ruled out. Stewart, 1967.

63 Verdier, 1967, no. 81. Provenance: Anatole Demidoff, Prince of San Donato, sold Paris, March 22, 1870, lot 468; Henry Willett of Brighton, England, sold London, April 7, 1905, no.98, George Robinson Harding, London [date and mode of acquisition unknown]; Henry Walters, Baltimore [date and mode of acquisition unknown]; Walters Art Museum, 1931, by bequest.

64 For the Louvre Plaque see Baratte, 2000, 83. Provenance: Benjamin Fillon, sold Paris, Drouot, March 22-24, 1882, no.263, previously possibly in the collection of Didier-Petit, sold 1843. Exhibited: Paris, 1867, no. 934; Nantes, 1872, no 10. For the Limoges Plaque see Ducourtieux, 1888, 318-337; Bourdery, 1891-2, 414-424; Guibert, 1894, 647-649. Provenance: Collection of Paul Gasnault gifted to Limoges Museum, December 21, 1873. It is probable that one of these two plaques was previously in the Germeau Collection, in which was described a similar piece sold on the 4-7 May, 1868, no 31. The description noted that the motto was 'Sub Umbra Alarum' rather than 'Sub Umbra Tuarum', however it is likely that this was a cataloguing error, given that a piece from this collection was earlier described in an exhibition catalogue for Paris, 1865, no. 2617, with the correct motto. Exhibited: Émaux Peints a L'Exposition Rétrospective de Limoges, 1886, no 101.

65 Léonard Limousin, (b.Limoges 1505- d. Limoges 1575-7). The best known enameller of Renaissance France, he

Sibyls, held at the British Museum, of which three are signed L.L for Léonard Limosin. The plaques show particular similarities in layout; using the wreath of laurels as a framing device, as well as the dark ground and the gilded highlights, particularly those decorating the corners. The rendering of the banderoles and the font style also bears comparison, however the distinctive, 'A' found on all three of the Albany plaques differs to that on the Sibyl plaques, (3.14).

The plaques may have been used as diplomatic gifts or as decorative elements included in a much larger work. Evidence suggests, for instance, that a decorative heraldic enamel-plaque bearing the arms of Albany's niece, Catherine de Medici, which is now at the Louvre, was made to decorate a grotto commissioned by the queen from Bernard Pallissy for the Tuileries gardens.⁶⁶ The aesthetic of this panel is different, as it was made of clay and moulded in relief, but nevertheless it demonstrates how such a small decorative heraldic or emblematic panel could have been incorporated into a much larger decorative scheme.

The three emblematic plaques examined have not hitherto been attributed to the patronage of Albany, although more recent studies had established the likely connection to his wife, Anne de la Tour.⁶⁷ Louis Bourdery, writing in the 1890s, was the first to establish that there were several versions of this plaque, and in his article, written on the Louvre and Limoges plaques, he suggested several possibilities for the patronage of these works.⁶⁸ These included Louise de Savoie, Duchess d'Angoulême, who often employed the devise of pairs of wings. We find these symbols incorporated into numerous works, in various media, commissioned throughout her life. The use of this emblem in Louise's case was a simple play on her initial, the letter 'L,' and the French word for wing - aile. This is illustrated in a small token produced in 1528, the obverse of which shows a crowned 'L' flanked by two wings. Further evidence of the use of the wing as a play on Louise's initial may be seen in the decorative border of a manuscript produced for her, c.1496. The manuscript illustrates Ovid's *Heroides*, and the border around each miniature is decorated by the repeated symbols of a wing, an 'L,' and the sails of a windmill: all a play on the word aile.⁶⁹

A second possible patron suggested by Bourdery was the treasurer and notary to the kings of France, Florimond Robertet. While examining the plaque held in Limoges, Bourdery noticed a

was encouraged by the bishop of Limoges, Jean de Langeac, and found patronage in the French court of François I.

⁶⁶ Heraldic enamel plaque from the workshop of Bernard Palissy, (1510-1590), 32.50 x 19.50 cm, enamelled clay. Paris, The Louvre, ENT 1989.24, c.1573.

⁶⁷ Baratte, 2000, 83; Lecoq, 1987, 472.

⁶⁸ Bourdery, 1891-2, 414-424.

⁶⁹ Une aile = wing or sail (windmill). It has the same pronunciation as 'L'. An illumination pasted into a manuscript now held at the Pierpont Morgan library, which was produced in Rouen, c.1530, displays a complex miniature in which Louise de Savoie is shown presenting a female figure, who in turn presents to François I, a book and a pair of wings. The manuscript which was probably commissioned by Louise as a gift to her son incorporates both the emblematic devices of François I on the caparison of his horse and the wings of Louise de Savoie. The text accompanying this image is cryptic, however, the image appears to represent an allegorical scene of the devices of Louise and her son. For this ms see Plummer, 1982, 96; Lecoq, 1987, 474-77.

modern inscription on the frame of the plaque which read 'Robertet Trésorier des finances sous Charles VIII, Louis XII, et Francois Ier.'⁷⁰ Florimond Robertet was an important and influential figure at the French court and is noted as being a keen patron of the arts. A connection between Florimond and the enamel plaques may have been hastily drawn due to the inclusion of wings in his coat of arms. Again numerous works of arts commissioned by, or for, Florimond throughout his life illustrate his connection to the wing motif. The origin of his family's coat of arms were preserved in his funerary oration by the Bishop of Grenoble. The bishop noted that an ancestor of Florimond had assisted King Philippe VI in a time of illness. As recompense for his loyalty the king devised four symbols for his arms. The wing as a symbol of his swiftness, the gold and blue bands as indicators of how he helped the king day and night, and the three stars to commemorate how he helped the king three times more than anyone else. The choice of the wing may also have been a play on the word *plume*, 'quill' being a metonym for a scribe or civil servant, or treasurer in Florimond's case. A portrait depicting Florimond, painted between 1510 - 27, again shows his arms and emphasises the importance of the wing motif by adding two further wings, one to each side of the coat of arms. This portrait also displays Florimond's motto: 'FORS VNGNE', meaning except one. This is said to have originated from an exchange between King Louis XII and Robertet, in which the king exclaimed 'Toutes les plumes volaient', or 'that all Treasurers were thieves', to which Robertet allegedly retorted 'Fors ungne', 'except one, Sire'.⁷¹ Whilst the arrangement of two wings with a banderole, bearing a motto, bears some similarity to the composition on the enamel plaques, the mottos are clearly different.

While both Louise de Savoie and Florimond Robertet were both great patrons of the arts during this period, and while they both have a demonstrable association to the motif of wings, neither of them used them in conjunction with the motto on the plaques: SVB VMBRA TVARVM. It is clear, therefore, that neither of them were responsible for commissioning this set of enamels. In Lecoq's work of 1987, she first suggested the connection to Albany's wife, Anne de La Tour, but refrained from drawing any connection to the duke himself.⁷² An examination of the account of Albany's apparel at the entry of François I into Paris in 1515, and of the design of the duke's gold medals, show that he employed this motto with the symbolic motif of wings as his own personal emblem. His young wife, Anne de la Tour died in 1524, and the plaques are generally considered to have been produced a few years after this date, enforcing the notion that it was the duke, and not his wife, who commissioned the plaques.

⁷⁰ Bourdery, 1891-2, 423.

⁷¹ Bentley-Cranch, 1988, 323, n.14; Kemp, ed. 1992, 81. Another example of the Robertet family's association with the wing motif may be found on a tapestry which was produced for a member of the Robertet family. c.1510-20. Paris, Musée de Cluny.

⁷² Lecoq, 1987, 473.

It is noteworthy that three such important, contemporary, and closely connected figures, should employ such similar wing motifs as their emblems. The correspondence that survives between Albany, and both Louise de Savoie and Florimond Robertet, indicates the close relationship between them. A letter, already mentioned, written by Albany to Louise de Savoie in 1524, beseeches the Queen Mother and her son to continue to put their trust in him, as he had been serving the house of France since he was twelve years of age.⁷³ Furthermore, a series of three letters, written in 1527 from Florimond to Albany, suggest a genuine confidence and friendship between the two figures. Florimond thanking Albany 'very humbly for the lovely crystal you have been good enough to send me, which I am using for the preservation and relief of my eyes.'⁷⁴ At the very least, the connection between these three figures and the wing motif indicates a courtly fashion.

Visual symbols were employed to indicate to the viewer something of the bearer's ancestry, and also their allegiance to their peers. Although the specific reference to the holy dove may have been particular to Albany and his wife, the use of bird imagery had a long tradition in the French side of Albany's family. In particular, the counts of Boulogne and Auvergne had a specific association with the emblem of the swan.⁷⁵ This use of swan imagery derived from the legend of the Swan Knight, a literary figure who came to a damsel's aid in a swan-drawn boat, and requested that he never be asked his name. A group of old French *chansons de geste* called the *Crusade cycle* had associated this legend with the ancestors of Godfrey of Bouillon, the hero of the first crusade. Godfrey of Bouillon loomed large in the medieval imagination, and his shadowy genealogy became a popular source of interest for medieval writers. The semi-fictional line from which Albany and his wife, both claimed descent led directly back to the Swan Knight via Godfrey of Bouillon. An image of the swan was used, for instance, on the seals of the earlier counts of Boulogne and Auvergne: Jean I, (d.1386), Jean II, (d.1404), and Jean III, (d.1501), (3.15).⁷⁶ Jean, duc de Berry also inherited the swan as a badge to indicate his position as count of Auvergne and Boulogne, and thus as a descendent of the the Swan Knight, through his marriage to Joan II d'Auvergne.⁷⁷ That Albany and

⁷³ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, IV, Part I, no. 52.

⁷⁴ This entry most likely refers to a charm-stone used to relive problems of eyesight. Bentley-Cranch, & Marshall, 2003, 309.

⁷⁵ The emblem of the swan was attached to the title count of Boulogne and Auvergne. This title had been passed down via Bertrand V, (d.1461) and Bertrand VI, (d.1497) to Jean III, (d.1501), Anne and Madeleine's father. As eldest daughter, Anne de la Tour, became countess of Boulogne and of Auvergne. In her marriage contract she is referred to as *Anne de Boulogne fille de Jehan comte de Boulogne et Auvergne*. Albany thus gained through marriage the title count of Boulogne and of Auvergne.

⁷⁶ Baluze, 1708, I, preface and II, 678.

⁷⁷ Jean, duc de Berry's two symbols were the swan and the bear. It is worth considering whether Albany made reference to Jean, duc d'Berry, in his use of the two supporting bears that appear on his seal. Images of bears and swans can often be found illustrated in the decorative margins of the duc de Berry's manuscripts. He also had a sculpted bear placed at the foot of his tomb, now in the crypt of the Cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Bourges, c.1416.

his wife were well aware of the tradition of the swan emblem in connection with the title of count of Auvergne and Boulogne is born out in an illustration included in a manuscript produced for the couple in 1518. In this work, which will be discussed at greater length later in this thesis, we find an illustrated genealogy demonstrating the descent of Anne de la Tour from Godfrey of Bouillon. On f.28v the arms of the county of Auvergne, are shown surmounted by a helm bearing a swan crest, (3.16).⁷⁸ Furthermore, other figures in the illustrated genealogy are also shown in relation to bird iconography, the arms of le comte Geneuert, for instance, are shown supported by two fantastically colourful birds with outstretched wings, (3.17).

In relation to their more immediate ancestors, there is little evidence to suggest that either of Albany's parents, Alexander Stuart (d.1485) and Anne de la Tour (d.1512), or his wife's parents, Jean III de la Tour (d.1501) and Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendome (d.1511), used a similar emblem or motto to that employed by Albany and his wife. There is, however, an intriguing painting, commissioned by Albany's wife's parents, which includes an interesting visual play on the same elements incorporated into Albany's emblem.

At the North Carolina Museum of Art is a fifteenth-century painted triptych. The central panel displays an Annunciation scene, with the Angel Gabriel addressing the Virgin, 'Ave gra. plena dominus tecum', or Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee.⁷⁹ The wings of the triptych bear the portraits of the donors, who are identifiable by the heraldic covers on the prie-dieu in front of them. They are Jean III de la Tour, and Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendome. Jean is presented by John the Baptist, and Jeanne, by John the Evangelist. The banners above the saints offer prayers, to the Virgin, on the donor's behalf. The scroll on the left refers to the Annunciation, and prays for the salvation of Anne's father, Jean. The verse on the right requests the blessing of children for his wife, Anne's mother, Jeanne. The theme of the Annunciation was appropriate for a work commissioned as an aid in the prayer for children. As Anne's parents married in 1495, and Anne, their eldest child, was born in 1498, the inscription dates the painting to *c.*1497. While small in size, the holy dove in the Annunciation scene occupies the central position of the composition. The dove flies with outstretched wings towards Mary from the figure of God the Father, and casts a realistic shadow on the plain brown interior. Further emphasis is drawn to the holy dove by the striations of golden light leading from God the Father to the dove and its shadow. The theme of wings is further emphasised, both by those of the Angel Gabriel, which have been modelled on those of a mallard duck, and by the two winged putti who, modelled in grisaille, bear the couple's coats of arms, (3.18-19).⁸⁰

78 The arms bear the maxim, '*Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos*', or *if God is with us who is against us*, on a banderole and also the text '*AMVRO : BIA*', most likely a referring to the Greek goddess of force and violence, Bia.

79 For a recent description of this painting see: Wolff, ed. 2011, no. 69.

80 That the Angel Gabrielle's wings are closely observed mallards wings is not unusual in fifteenth and sixteenth century French painting. For instance the wings of Gabriel in the *Aix Annunciation*, by Barthélemy d'Eyck, painted

An eighteenth-century inscription, painted in gold on the backs of the shutters, contributes to the history of the triptych's ownership. After the death of Jean, Jeanne kept the painting in her château at Vic-le-Comte until her death in 1511, when the work was placed near her tomb in the church of the Cordeliers, also at Vic-le-Comte.⁸¹ Albany married Anne de la Tour in 1505, and as the capital of his newly-inherited county of the Auvergne was at Vic-le-Comte, it would appear likely that he would have spent considerable time at the château of Vic-le-Comte. Albany and his wife would thus have been very familiar with this painting. The image of the dove used in conjunction with Albany's motto, *Sub Umbra Tuarum*, meaning *In the Shadow of thy Wings*, is found on the heraldic opening pages of two manuscripts discussed later in this chapter. In each case the image of the small dove in flight with the striations of light, is extremely close to that of the dove in this painting, suggesting that the artist responsible may have been directly influenced by this earlier work. The curious emphasis of the dove's shadow may therefore have influenced, or related to, Albany's use of this motto.

Certainly the impressive patronage of the arts by Albany's wife's family appears to have had a strong influence on the young Duke of Albany. His own keen patronage of the arts appear to have been an expression of his desire, both to demonstrate his rightful position in this family, and to live up to the standard of visual munificence already set by his predecessors. His adoption and manipulation of visual symbols, employed in his emblem and motto, suggests a recognition of his family history, and an understanding of the power of such signifiers in defining his social identity.

in 1441-5, show the careful observation of real birds wings. The wings in this instance are so accurately rendered that they have been identified as those of a short-eared owl.

81 Baluze, 1708, I, 351. Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendome was, furthermore, responsible for commissioning an extraordinary cadaver tomb part of which is now preserved in the Louvre, Paris. The surviving section of the tomb shows the figure of Jeanne in a scalloped niche, she is wrapped in a shroud with loose dishevelled hair and is shown emaciated and decomposing. The tomb was described in situ at the church of the Cordeliers at Vic-le-Comte by Legrand d'Aussy, 1787-8, 242-3 and Dulaure. 1789. 406-12. The tomb was more recently discussed in a catalogue of sculpted works at the Louvre. Beaulieu, 1978, no. 37 and Baudoin. 1998, 282.

Japhet to James: *A Forgotten Genealogy of the Kings of Scotland*

At the Bibliothèque St-Geneviève, Paris, is a fascinating manuscript containing a French translation of the mid-fifteenth century Latin chronicle on Scottish history: the *Liber Pluscardensis*. The *Liber Pluscardensis* was a work based mainly on Fordun and Bower's earlier Scottish Histories, updated and abridged in the early 1460s.⁸² The version of this work at the Bibliothèque St-Geneviève, which will be referred to as the Paris Manuscript, is the only known example of this Latin chronicle translated into French. The Paris Manuscript is not unknown to scholars of Scottish history. A description of the work was written by Francisque Michel, and published by Joseph Stevenson in his work '*The Life and Death of James I*,' in 1837.⁸³ Furthermore, Felix Skene, in his 1877 work on the *Liber Pluscardensis*, devoted a lengthy footnote to the Paris Manuscript, surmising that it was copied and translated directly from a Latin version of the work that he called the Marchmont Manuscript.⁸⁴ Beyond these brief mentions, however, this manuscript has received

82 John Fordun, (before 1360- c.1384), was a Scottish chronicler active in the second-half of the fourteenth century. It is probable that he was a chaplain at St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen. Fordun's work is the earliest attempt to write a continuous history of Scotland. This work, divided into five books, is known as *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, and was first published c.1360. The fifth book concluded with the death of King David I in 1153. Walter Bower, (1385-24, Dec. 1449), used this work and other material collected by Fordun, to continue, update, and abridge this history of Scotland. Bower was an Abbot of Inchcolm and his work, now known as the *Scotichronicon*, consisted of sixteen books extending Fordun's history to the death of James I in 1437. The *Liber Pluscardensis* while based on Bower's *Scotichronicon* includes a number of passages written in the first person by the chronicler as eye-witness accounts. The chronicle notes that the first five books follow Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*. It also acknowledges that the work to the time of James II is indebted to Bower, stating that the remainder of the work is due to one whose name will appear at the end of the sixth book. This promise is not fulfilled in any of the surviving manuscripts. William F. Skene proposed that the author of the *Liber Pluscardensis* was Maurice Buchanan, a cleric and previously treasurer to the dauphine, Margaret Stuart. He suggested that Buchanan composed the work in the Priory of Pluscarden in 1461 for then abbot of Dunfermline, Richard Bothuele, (Bothwell). This attribution has been cast into doubt by more recent scholars. Skene, 1872, 447- 451; Skene, 1870, 13-24; Drexler, 1982, 62.-74.

83 Stevenson, ed. 1837, xiii – xx. Francisque Michel included a short mention of the manuscript in his own work of 1862. Michel, 1862, I, 341-344.

84 Skene, 1877, VII: *Liber Pluscardensis*, xv-xvi; n.2. Felix Skene lists six surviving manuscripts of the *Liber Pluscardensis* written in Latin. [(1.) Glasgow University Library, Ms Gen 333, A signature on this copy indicates that it belonged to Archbishop William Scheves. (2.) Ms Advocates Library, 35.5.2. believed to be a copy of the Glasgow Ms. (3.) Ms Cavers, 1696, also believed to be a copy of the Glasgow Ms. (4.) Ms Bodleian, Fairfax 8. (5.) Ms Marchmont, A.C.15. Believed to be a copy of the Bodleian Ms. It contains a 'praefacio' and 'prologus' and a table of contents for the first book which were probably copied from a now lost leaf of the Bodleian work. (6.) Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, ms. 7396, Also believed to be a copy of the Bodleian Ms. It also contains the 'preafacio' and 'prologus' contained in the Marchmont Ms]. Skene surmises that the Paris Manuscript was copied from the Marchmont Manuscript for a number of reasons: the Paris Manuscript contains the preface and prologue only now found in the Marchmont and Brussels manuscripts. A poem on the fly-leaf of the Paris Manuscript mentions the Scots combat against the Turks and in the Marchmont Ms there is also a note in verse form on a similar theme. Furthermore, the Marchmont Ms appears to have been in the possession of the French Roi d'Armes Montjoie. This indicates that the work may have been in Paris in the early years of the sixteenth century and may thus have been the work from which the Paris Ms was translated. Lastly the Marchmont Ms contains the words 'Lioin Albinic' perhaps a reference to this episode. Supporting this view see Somerville. 1928, 377-378. The manuscript was acquired by Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, 1st Lord Marchmont. In the 1780s-90s, Sir Patrick's grandson, the 3rd earl, moved the greater part of his collection of printed books and manuscripts to his house at Hemel Hempstead. Lists of the books sent there survive in the papers of the Humes of Polwarth [ref: NAS GD158]

little attention and some of its most intriguing features remain entirely unexplored, such as its elaborately illuminated genealogy of the kings of Scotland situated at the back of the manuscript, and the context and circumstances surrounding the work's patronage by John Stuart, Duke of Albany.

The opening page of the Paris Manuscript is illuminated with a pen and ink drawing of the crowned arms of Albany, encircled by the collar of the Order of St Michael and situated in a swirling bunch of Renaissance foliage, (3.20). At the base of the foliage is a banner bearing the inscription, 'VERITAS DE TERRA ORTA EST' meaning truth shall spring from the ground, no doubt a reference to one of the central themes of the manuscript, the genealogical tree.⁸⁵ Above the foliage is a second banner bearing an abbreviation of Albany's motto, 'SVB VMBRA TVA', and hovering over the banderole is the small figure of the holy dove in flight, with striations of light emanating from its wings. The arms, emblem, and motto on this page leave no doubt that this work was commissioned by the Duke of Albany.⁸⁶

The Paris Manuscript opens with a fourteen line poem extolling the virtues of the very magnificent kingdom of Scotland. Stating that this solemn work was written to demonstrate, by clear evidence, how the sovereign and antique kingdom of Scotland was filled with great valour, and beseeching both nobles and lay-folk to recognise the faith and virtue of the Scottish nation, (3.21):

*'Powerful Princes, this present chronicle,
Triumphant of dignified renown,
Demonstrates by very clear evidence,
How the very magnificent kingdom,
Of Scotland has [Bruict]⁸⁷ sovereign and antique,
Because it was filled with great valour,
And is still why by excellence,
I write this here solemn work,
To demonstrate how the Catholic faith,
Was kept and judicial power,
Peace and love, equity, temperance,*

but none list this item. The 3rd earl bequeathed his collections to his executor, Sir George Rose. His son, Sir George Henry Rose, author of *A selection from the papers of the Earls of Marchmont ... illustrative of events from 1685 to 1750*, 3 vols (London, 1831), later sold the collection back to Henry Francis Scott, Lord Polwarth. Some correspondence relating to this sale survives in the papers of the Scotts of Harden, Lords Polwarth [NAS GD157/1743] to which is appended a note in Lord Polwarth's handwriting, dated 8 November, 1924, saying that the library was sold by Walter Hugh, Lord Polwarth, at the Sotheby's sale in 1909 'but some MSS and other vols were not included.' The major part of what was unsold was deposited in Register House in 1951 [ref: GD158]. The manuscript is now in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, Ms. 308876.

85 Taken from Psalm 84.12. 'Veritas de terra orta est et iustitia de caelo prospexit', Truth is sprung from the earth and justice has looked down from heaven.

86 The facing page contains a small hand written explanatory note pasted onto the flyleaf. It appears that this is a note written by Francisque Michel, probably added to the manuscript around the time that he first examined the work and sent a description to Joseph Stevenson in the 1830s.

87 Good reputation.

*And against Turks often took a lance,
Nobles and lay, I beg you, without replica,
See this fact, full of prudence.*

*Domat, the Author Translator.*⁸⁸

Key to our interpretation of this manuscript is that the poem is signed 'Domat,' and below this is written 'the author translator'. That the work is handwritten, and signed in this way, shows not only that the translation is the work of Domat, but also suggests that the handwriting and flourishes on these pages may be attributed to the same hand. The facing page continues to tell us that this work was executed for the very high, very illustrious, magnanimous, double prince, 'Monseigneur Jehan duc Dalbanie', Count of Boulogne and Auvergne, de la Marche, and many other great seigniories, the great, serene, and pacific regent of Scotland, and that Bremond Domat, his very humble servant, had made this work in humble reverence.

A convoluted passage praising God and the Virgin follows, asking that he be forgiven for his rude capacity, his unsubtle craft, and simple knowledge, although he begs all noble readers to bear his ignorance and not to pay attention to his poor language. He notes that he undertook this work in order to elucidate Albany's illustrious and noble blood, and to commemorate his predecessors of great renown. He lastly notes that he commenced this translation from Latin into French on the 18 June, 1519, ending by noting that he prays to God the Almighty to take him under his protection.

Following Domat's introductory paragraph is a preface stressing that the purpose of the work was to illuminate the truth, by recording the merits and noble remains of these honourable ancestors. It states that occupants of the noble kingdom of Scotland were resplendent in all parts of the world, and feared and redoubted by all nations. This is followed by a short prologue in which it is reiterated that the work was undertaken at the command of the high and powerful seigneur Jehan duc d'Albanie, pacific regent of Scotland. Domat stresses that he wanted to follow the noble author of the Latin manuscript, who composed the work at the specific request of an abbot of Dumfermline.⁸⁹ Domat quotes this Latin author, saying that he had been asked to update the chronicle, recounting events of his own time, with certain other miraculous deeds, which the author had knowledge of, or had seen first hand. Lastly he quotes the original author's statement that he would add a section concerning a certain marvellous maiden, who recovered the kingdom of France out of the hands of the tyrant Henry, king of England. It is noted that the author was conversant with the aforesaid maiden, and that he was in her company at the recovery of France and until the end of

88 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*, ms. 936, f.2v. Bremond Domat, 1519. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

89 Perhaps Richard Bothwell, abbot of Dunfermline. See note 82.

her life.⁹⁰ It is to be noted with regret that the author of the chronicle does not fulfil his promise, and in no extant versions of the Latin history, nor indeed in Domat's French translation, do we find the account of the authors exploits in France with Joan of Arc.

There are six extant manuscripts of the Latin work known as the *Liber Pluscardensis*; two contain a prologue and preface, which tell us all we know about the author of this work, (Appendix 3c). That is, it was written at the request of an abbot of Dunfermline, and that although based on the work of Fordun and Bower, it was updated and abridged in 1461, and the author is known to have been in France in the company of Joan of Arc during the 1430s. Domat's French translation of this work is the third Manuscript to contain this interesting preface and prologue, although it also contains an additional poem and dedication which appear to be the original work of Domat himself. The Paris Manuscript as a whole contains two distinct parts, the translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis* into French and an illuminated genealogy of the kings of Scotland. This illuminated genealogy clearly bases its information on the preceding chronicle, but is effectively also an original work by Domat, and does not appear to follow any of the extant Latin manuscripts. Evidence in the Paris Manuscript would suggest that contrary to Domat's introductory paragraph, where he humbly requests the readers forgiveness for his failings, he was in fact proud of this work. As we have seen, he mentions his own name several times in the introduction, and furthermore, throughout the manuscript, he frequently includes his name or his initials 'B.D,' in the decorative embellishments, (3.22).⁹¹

That this work was commissioned for Albany is also highlighted repeatedly. For instance, the decoration surrounding the illuminated initial 'L' in the 'Le royaume de Scoce' on folio 73r contains a banderole with the text: 'VIVE SCOCE TERRE JOLIE ET SON REGENT DVC D'ALBANIE,' or, Long live Scotland, beautiful land and its Regent, Duke of Albany, (3.23).⁹² Furthermore, visual evidence relating to Scotland may be found frequently throughout the manuscript, for instance, at the beginning of the second book, the royal arms of Scotland are depicted surmounted by a helm bearing the crest of a lion and a banderole proclaiming 'VIVAT FELIX IN ETE NUM,' (3.24). Also, on f.47r the initial 'P' is embellished by a lion rampant, the traditional heraldic beast of Scotland, (3.25).⁹³ A further connection to Albany is suggested on f.159 where the initial 'A' for Alexander is given half a page of extravagant decoration, including Renaissance style foliage, flowers, and birds. Furthermore, the bottom of the page is underlined

90 This passage is important as it identifies the author of the original Latin chronicle of 1461 as a figure in France who was in the company of Joan of Arc during the 1430s. The suggestion that this figure was present at her death at Rouen is interesting as it was unusual for a Scot, as a foe of the English, to have attended the event.

91 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936. f.22v, 63r & 167v. Bremond Domat, 1519.

92 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.73r. Bremond Domat, 1519.

93 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.19v, f.47r. Bremond Domat, 1519.

with intricate calligraphic swirls, perhaps intended to highlight the significance of the name Alexander as that of Albany's father, (3.26).⁹⁴

While the first part of the manuscript is a direct translation from the Latin original, which has been executed in a fair degree of haste and is largely unfinished, it nevertheless provides indications of the circumstances surrounding the manuscript's commission. The work was evidently requested by Albany, of Domat, to act as an aid to the education of the newly appointed regent of Scotland as to the glorious history of his country. It was evidently intended both to act as a compilation of the great deeds accomplished by Albany's ancestors, and also as a testament to the values and virtues of Scotland as a country and as a nation. In the personal decorative features employed throughout the manuscript, Domat sought to highlight that it was from this distinguished bloodline that Albany was a direct descendant. As we have already seen Albany was appointed regent in 1514, and by 1519, the date of this work, Albany had undertaken his first and most successful trip to Scotland. He would have been at this point well aware of the need to return to Scotland very soon, and it is plausible that such a manuscript, briefing him on the history of Scotland, would at this point have been considered very useful. Furthermore, this work was undertaken the year following the marriage of Albany's sister-in-law, Madeleine, to Lorenzo de' Medici. It is, therefore, also likely that this newly formed bond to such a powerful and illustrious family prompted Albany to think about promoting his own powerful position as regent of Scotland to the influential European nobles with which he was frequently in contact, both on diplomatic and family related errands.

It is probable that the Latin manuscript from which Domat copied this work was only available to him for a limited period, as the work shows all the signs of being executed in haste and, as mentioned, leaves a number of sections unfinished. While the text and decorative elements of this first part of the manuscript were executed in black ink on paper, it would seem likely that the intention was to return to the work and complete the illuminations in colour and with gold embellishments. Whether it was time, money, or some other factor that prohibited this completion is impossible to determine. What this work shows is that, despite Albany's French upbringing, when thrust into the position of regent of Scotland, he seized this opportunity and was determined to do his best with it. He thus sought to familiarise himself with the history of Scotland and its rulers. Furthermore, the additional decorative features mentioned demonstrate pride in his new status, and a wish to convey to others the integrity and importance of Scotland as a key player on the early-sixteenth century European stage.

The second part of the Paris Manuscript consists of eight leaves of vellum, containing an

⁹⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.159r. Bremond Domat, 1519.

illuminated genealogical tree of the kings of Scotland. A close examination of the manuscript leaves no doubt that the two parts were executed by the same hand, although it is clear that the vellum leaves were executed with a great deal more care, leaving the issue of whether the two parts of this manuscript were originally intended to be bound together uncertain.⁹⁵ The latter part of this work tells us a great deal, for while the information included stems mainly from the preceding chronicle, the selective emphasis of certain themes demonstrates unequivocally what Domat considered most important and worthy of emphasis for his patron. The illustrated genealogy of the kings of Scotland at the back of this manuscript appears to have eluded scholarly attention, save for a brief mention in a work dating to 1729 by Thomas Innes, in which he mentions 'a kind of abridgement of Scottish History, with pictures of the kingsin very coarse miniature'.⁹⁶

The vellum part of the manuscript begins with an introduction, ornamented by the crowned royal arms of Scotland, where it is stated that these pages were written to 'clarify and resolve the very illustrious and ancient lineage of Scots to that end that every noble prince descended from this line may apprehend the true source and origin of their lineage', (3.27).⁹⁷ Domat stresses that few kingdoms can claim such an ancient line of descent as that of Scotland, which here is traced back three hundred and thirty years before the advent of Christ. The genealogy is traced, as it is in the *Scotichronicon*, from Japhet, third son of Noah, down to Galahel, who was proclaimed the first king of the Scots.⁹⁸

The illuminated tree itself begins with Galahel, the first king, and his wife Scota, (3.28).⁹⁹ Far from the 'very coarse miniatures' described by Thomas Innes in 1729, the illuminations in this work are, by and large, finely executed, with a liveliness and immediacy that is often lacking in works of this period. The draughtsmanship is assured, and demonstrates a talent for characterisation in a style that is entirely unlaboured. The upper half of each roundel contains a pseudo-portrait or effigy of a king, and in two cases queens are also included.¹⁰⁰ Following the outline of the roundel,

95 There is a discrepancy in size between the vellum and paper pages. Some of the vellum pages have been folded at the bottom by approximately one inch.

96 Innes, 1729, 633-4. Innes was the vice-principle of the Scots College, Paris, so would have had ample opportunity to examine the manuscript in person. Joseph Stevenson, quoting Francisque Michel, only notes that 'Dans ce même volume il y a fur huit feuillets de vélin un abrégé chronologique de l'histoire d'Ecosse, jusque'à Jacques I d'Ecosse, avec des portraits des rois en une espèce de miniature'. Skene and Somerville fail to mention the illuminated genealogy at all. Another brief reference to Domat's translation was written by Richard Hay, a canon of Ste Geneviève, Paris, in 1700 despite mentioning the heraldic opening page to the manuscript he also fails to mention the genealogical tree. Hay, 1700, Nat. Lib. Scot. Adv. Ms. 34.I.8. 337.

97 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.256r. Bremond Domat, 1519.

98 Japhet was one of the three sons of Noah, the others being Shem and Ham. He is often, but not always, referred to as the youngest son. The Bible notes that Japhet had seven sons, of which Gomer was the eldest and writers have assigned to him the lineage of various nations including the Armenians, Cimmerians, Scythians, Welsh, Irish, Germans, Huns, Turks and Franks.

99 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.256r. Bremond Domat, 1519.

100 Galahel and his queen, Scota, and Malcolm and his queen, St Margaret, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.256r, f.260v. Bremond Domat, 1519.

in much the same way as a coin or medal, the name of the figure is given. The lower half contains a potted history of the illustrated figure. So, for instance, for Scota we are told that 'Scota his wife, daughter of King Pharaoh, the last in Egypt. From whom Scotland took its name. After the death of her husband she conquered Hibernia, after which she named her first son and reigned 28 years.'¹⁰¹ Under each roundel is a record of the figures offspring, so here Hiber is listed, Scota's first son. There are seventy-nine roundels complete with text, from Galahel and Scota to James I of Scotland. There are then nine further drawings of kings, which are without text and difficult to account for.¹⁰² Each of the roundels contains an original image, based to a large degree on the information with which Domat has been provided, such as the age of the king during his reign, the antiquity of the era, and the qualities of the figure.

Within the genealogical tree there are certain themes that surface repeatedly. Firstly, particular emphasis is placed on the concept of pre-ordained kingship, and specifically on the interceding of figures, objects, or events that stress the divinely ordained nature of inherited kingship. So for instance, in the eighth roundel, under a slightly comic representation of Simon Brec, or Brer as he is labelled here, the text reads 'Simon Brer came third from Spain to live in Hibernia and Scotland and he brought the chair of marble which he had drawn from the sea and had it put next to the most eminent place, to crown the kings. He did prowess and beautiful deeds.'¹⁰³ This extract is based on one of the two origins given by Fordun, and repeated in the *Liber Pluscardensis*, of the Stone of Destiny. This particular account relates how Simon Brer let down anchor while caught in a storm off the Irish coast. When he was forced by adverse winds to weigh anchor, he drew up with it, and pulled onto the ship, a block of marble cut in the shape of a chair. He accepted that this stone was a precious gift from the Gods and a sure omen that he would be king. He also received a prophesy from the Gods stating that, wherever the stone was placed, a Scot would rule, (3.29).

This concept of preordained kingship appears many times. Another example is given in the twenty-sixth roundel. Under an illumination of a figure wearing an elaborate, beast-headed helmet, or crown, it is possible to make out the following: 'Connallus came to power in 558. In the ninth year of his reign there came from Hibernia, Saint Abbot Columba, who founded many monasteries in Scotland, lived a saintly life. To whom God gave a glass book on which was written the

101 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.256v. Bremond Domat, 1519. The only other representation I have found of Scota and Galahel is the famous image of Scota and her husband sailing westwards from Egypt in a 15th C manuscript of Bower's *Scotichronicon*: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 171, f.14r.

102 It is possible that Domat, being unfamiliar with Scottish History wanted to update the genealogy to his own time however misjudged the number of kings this would require. Even if we include regents there is no reasonable explanation for including nine further figures after James I.

103 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.257r. Bremond Domat, 1519. Bower, 1998, I, 63,65,67,69,197.

ordinance of the kings of Scotland.¹⁰⁴ This story relates to a passage in the *Scotichronicon* which tells of how an angel held out a glass book for Columba to read, on which was the written the names of the kings of Scots, and thus when Columba refused to ordain Aedan, the next in line for the throne, preferring his brother, the angel repeatedly appeared to Columba and punished him until he followed the book's instructions, (3.30).

A second theme which surfaces repeatedly throughout the genealogy is, not unexpectedly, the history of Franco-Scottish relations, a theme which would no doubt be of particular interest to Albany. The thirty-second roundel which bears an illustration of Ferchard Brer, also known as Ferchar Fota, notes that he reigned in the year 646, and that he 'reigned 18 years in peace. At this time a great portion of the Saxons were baptised, as was Penda their king' (3.31). It then continues 'at this time Dido, Bishop of Poitiers was exiled to Scotland for safety,' we are told in the chronicle that this was on the orders of King Clovis.¹⁰⁵ In the forty-third roundel which shows King Achaius, we are told that he came to power in 787 and reigned 32 years. His brother was the noble Gilmour the Scot, who fought against the infidels with Charlemagne. He was renowned for marvellous prowess and was the motive for the first friendship between kings of France and Scotland.¹⁰⁶ This notion that the Auld Alliance dated back to the eighth century, and to a friendship between Achaius and Charlemagne, was often referred to by fifteenth-century scholars seeking to stress the longevity and respectability of the alliance. This ancient and mythical origin for the Auld Alliance was still in use in 1646, where it was mentioned in a act by Louis XIV.¹⁰⁷

Albany had by 1519 undertaken one prolonged visit to Scotland, and from the outset he had set about trying to strengthen ties between Scotland and France. He signed a confirmation of the Auld Alliance in January, 1516. In June 1517, Albany returned to France and immediately set about cementing the Alliance by negotiating the Treaty of Rouen which was signed in August of that year. This Treaty was key to the unfolding of many events of the sixteenth century, outlining a military alliance between the two countries, stressing each country's responsibility towards the other in time of war, and setting out an agreement in principle that James V be betrothed to a daughter of

104 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.258r. Bremond Domat, 1519. See Bower, 1998, III, 69, 71, 109.

105 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.258v. Bremond Domat, 1519. See Bower, 1998, III, 127, 129, 133, 143, 157.

106 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.259r. Bremond Domat, 1519. See Bower, 1998, III, 161, 163, 167, 169, 175, 183, 271, 295.

107 'Whereas it hath been represented to the king, in his council, the queen regent, his mother present, that in the year 789, Charlemagne reigned in France, and Achaius in Scotland, the alliance and confederacy having been made between the two kingdoms, offensive and defensive, of crown and crown, king and king, people and people, as is set forth by the charter called the golden bull, it should have until present continued without any interruption, and been ratified by all kings, successors of said Charlemagne with advantages and prerogatives so peculiar, that not only are the Scots in capacity of acquiring and possessing estates, moveable and immoveable and benefices in France and the French in Scotland, without taking out any letters of naturalisation; but also it should have been granted to the said Scots to pay only the fourth part of the duties upon all goods which they transport to the said country of Scotland....' Moncrieff, 1751, 63.

François I. Furthermore in May 1518, Albany persuaded the French king to grant privileges to Scottish merchants under letters patent signed at Amboise.¹⁰⁸ So by 1519, one might presume that Albany was already relatively well versed in historical matters regarding this ancient friendship, yet would no doubt have welcomed a work that set out so clearly the key names, dates, and events that could be used to emphasise its long and distinguished history.

Before moving on from the Paris Manuscript, it is worth considering the seventy-ninth roundel, the last to contain text: that of James I of Scotland. We are told that he was crowned in his fourteenth year, at a time of great wars. No doubt of interest to Albany would have been the mention of the arrival of 'la pucelle en France,' a reference to Joan of Arc. The most striking element of this roundel is, however, the effigy, which appears to closely resemble the known iconography of the early Stuart monarchs. There are difficulties when trying to establish if this image of James I was meant to be viewed as a portrait, as no portraits of the king executed in his own lifetime survive today. Perhaps the most commonly cited image of James I is that at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, but which cannot date to earlier than the second-half of the sixteenth century (3.32).¹⁰⁹ It is therefore difficult to establish on what Domat based this image of James I, and whether this image would have passed as a recognisable portrayal of the early Stuart monarch.

So what did Domat use as his inspiration for this work? There are few surviving earlier examples of illustrated genealogies of the royal house of Scotland.¹¹⁰ Continental examples of such works developed from a long established history of genealogical illustration. Issues of kinship and family relations were a fundamental concern for all prominent families at this time. Complicated hereditary claims to particular territories often formed the basis for major disputes, so it was vital for leading families to keep detailed records of their genealogies, in order to clarify the complex relationships that often existed between them. This concern frequently resulted in the production of illustrated family trees, genealogies, and heraldic displays. A slightly later work, produced for Margaret of Austria, demonstrates a similar visual solution to this concern. Unusually, this work

¹⁰⁸ Moncrieff, 1751, 67- 69.

¹⁰⁹ For fifteenth and sixteenth-century Stewart portraiture see: Murdoch, 1915, 67-75; Beard, R. 1925, 5-15; Bentley-Cranch, 1988.

¹¹⁰ A slightly earlier illustrated genealogy appears on f.345r of a copy of the *Scotichronicon* dating to 1510 held at Edinburgh University Library, Ms. 186. Here a single folio is illustrated by a genealogical tree tracing the descent from Malcolm Canmore and St Margaret to James II. There is an interesting later example in a manuscript written by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, in 1578 which is illustrated by a number of portrait medallions of the ancient kings of Scotland. Leslie, 1578. There is also a later genealogical tree featuring Mary Queen of Scots and demonstrating James VI's claim to the English throne through his grandmother, Margaret Tudor, dating to 1603. A print of which was published by John Woutneel soon after this, (NPG D1370). Morgan, 1914, 163- 4; Farquhar, 1915, 30-32. Lastly, another later example of a Scottish illustrated genealogy is the Campbell's of Glenorchy family tree of 1635 by George Jameson which commemorates one of the most important families in early modern Scotland.

was displayed in a triptych format, (3.33).¹¹¹ It consisted of four sheets of parchment displaying a genealogical tree, illustrating the paternal line of Charles V. The work contains a detailed description of the lineage, displays the family heraldry, and is illuminated with numerous images of Charles V's illustrious ancestors in the form of portrait medallions, often with the name of the figure inscribed around the edge of the roundel.¹¹² So while this form of genealogical illustration was undoubtedly in vogue on the Continent in the early-sixteenth century, it is less clear whether this trend had yet established itself in Scotland. Therefore, while it is useful to situate the Paris Manuscript within this genre of visual genealogical display, the unanswered question remains whether there was any visual tradition for portraying the ancient kings of Scotland *per se*, or whether Domat was forced to adapt a Continental tradition to suit his purpose. It is possible therefore that the Paris Manuscript was one of the first works illustrating the royal line of Scotland, and therefore it may have acted as a catalyst for later examples of such Scottish works.¹¹³

Indeed, Domat's illustrations of the early Scottish kings in this manuscript may be an example of one of the ways in which the aesthetics of the French Renaissance spread to, and influenced, visual culture in Scotland. Much work has been undertaken examining the possible origins of the fantastic figures that appear in the woodcarvings of sixteenth-century Scotland, and it has already been noted that some of these works may have been the creations of French craftsmen brought to Scotland by Albany, or later by James V.¹¹⁴ The Paris manuscript was specifically commissioned by Albany in order to aid his understanding of Scottish history and act as an aide mémoire for its most famous figures. Indeed, it would be surprising if Albany had not brought this manuscript with him on one of his trips to Scotland, and did not show it off to the young James V. It would also seem likely that much of James V's Renaissance tastes stemmed from the influence of his tutor and governor, the Duke of Albany, and this manuscript may be one of the, no doubt many, ways French Renaissance aesthetics influenced the tastes of James V, (3.34). The comparison shown illustrates the third roundel in the Stirling Heads series, and two examples of carved wood panelling, all from Stirling Palace, dating to c.1540. A comparison between the roundels in the Paris Manuscript and these woodcarvings demonstrates a distinct similarity in style, and while not suggesting they are direct copies, it is plausible that the Paris Manuscript may have had an influence

111 Eichberger and Beavan, 1995, 225-248; Eichberger, 1996, 259- 279; Pearson, 2001.

112 Margaret of Austria is an interesting figure to use as a comparison with Albany as she was almost an exact contemporary; Margaret of Austria, (10 Jan, 1480 - 1 Dec, 1530), Albany, (8 July, 1482 - 2 June, 1536). She was also an enthusiastic patron of the arts with a notable interest in portraiture and genealogy. Furthermore, she preformed a similar role to Albany in that she was appointed governor of the Hapsburg Netherlands, 1507-15, and guardian of her young nephew the future Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. Her interest in genealogical illustration was no doubt connected to her political position, just as it was in the case of Albany.

113 See note 110.

114 Evans, 1985 31; Stuart, 1940, 65-66; Dunbar, 1975, 20.

on the program of decoration employed in the King's Presence Chamber at Stirling Palace.

With no known visual precedent for Domat's genealogy of the royal house of Scotland, it is reasonable to suggest that this work may be the invention of Domat himself, working with the information made available to him in the *Liber Pluscardensis*, and basing his work on the Continental tradition of illustrating royal genealogies. What then may be gleaned regarding Domat's characterisation of the ancient kings of Scotland, and of his intentions in illustrating this genealogy? It is clear that a description of these images as 'portraits' would be misleading, as even the most recent king to be depicted, James I, had already been dead eighty-two years by this time.¹¹⁵ The images presented would more accurately be described as 'effigies,' following the medieval tradition of visual representation of famous figures as not necessitating a 'true' physiognomic likeness, but merely requiring a distinctive and memorable image in order to serve as an effective mnemonic.¹¹⁶ After all, what would an early-sixteenth century Frenchman really know of the appearance of a seventh-century Scottish king?¹¹⁷

In general terms, the images Domat created consistently conform to an ideology which proposed that physical superiority and political power were the typical and inseparable consequences of illustrious ancestry. The images stress the virtues of physical might, and their fantastic apparel suggests their remote and exotic past as well as alluding to the great heroes of other nations, such as those of ancient Greece and Rome. The fantastic zoomorphic head-ware found on Domnal Brec (3.35), and on Conall (3.30), is repeatedly employed in the genealogy, to suggest antiquity, but also a general warlike prowess.¹¹⁸ Other famous figures, such as Kenneth MacAlpin, who were celebrated for their success in battle, are clad in a more contemporary form of Italianate armour, again used to suggest their invincibility, (3.35). Evidence that Domat carefully adhered to the information within the *Liber Pluscardensis*, may be seen in the representation of Aed Wing-foot, or Eivs Fretath, as he is called here. In this particular representation, Domat has acknowledged the description of the king as 'fast and light of body,' and an athlete superior even to those of ancient Greece, such as Philonides, the hemerodromos of Alexander the Great who ran over 1000 stades in a single day.¹¹⁹ Domat's representation of Aed shows a young and slight man bearing the symbol for swiftness, a wing, on his helmet or crown, (3.35). Furthermore, there is evidence that Domat may have had access to visual material upon which to base some of his later

115 James I of Scotland, (1394- 21 Feb, 1437).

116 Perkinson, 2002, 687-723.

117 The nationality of Domat will be discussed in a later section.

118 Similar types of fantastic zoomorphic head-ware may be seen, for instance, on sculpted heads of imaginary classical warriors from the château of Gaillon. These profile busts originated in northern Italy c.1506-8 and demonstrate French interest in this Italian aesthetic. Wolff. 2011. 188-9.

119 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936, f.259v. Bremond Domat, 1519.

representations. I have already mentioned his depiction of James I, and its adherence to the iconography of the early Stuart monarchs. An image of another iconic figure, Robert the Bruce, raises a similar question (3.35). The image that Domat has produced fits neatly into the iconographic type which we find in a number of later representations of Robert the Bruce. He is shown in a three-quarter view, with a determined face, mid-length hair, and a thick and bushy beard.¹²⁰ Again we lack an extant portrait dating to earlier than Domat's representation, but the facial type depicted shows marked similarities to later images of Bruce, such as those by George Jamesone and Jacob de Wet.¹²¹ The suggestion being that, by the early-sixteenth century, there was already an established iconographic tradition for portraying some of the more famous figures in Scottish history, such as James I and Robert the Bruce.

On the whole, however, the illustrated genealogy appended to Domat's translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis* appears to have been an original invention by Bremond Domat. In no other version of this text do we find such illustrations, and it is therefore likely that Domat was required to adapt an established French tradition to meet the needs of his patron. As such, Domat appears to have concerned himself primarily with the medieval concept of likeness, in which images often played a crucial role in mnemonic systems. When used in this way physiognomic likeness was not crucial to the success of the image. It is likely therefore that Domat's concern was less whether these images represented a 'true' likeness, and more whether they reflected what the corresponding text told the reader, thus providing a memorable image to remind Albany of the important parts they played in Scotland's history.

120 For the iconography of Robert the Bruce, particularly the remains of his tomb see: Pearson, 1924, 253-272; Johnston, 1878, 466- 471.

121 The Aberdonian artist George Jamesone's famously painted a portrait of Robert the Bruce as part of a series of paintings of the kings of Scotland for Charles I's coronation in Edinburgh in 1633. Bergeron, 1992, 173-184. The Dutch artist, Jacob de Wet, was commissioned to paint a series of 'portraits' of the kings of Scotland, from Fergus I to James VII, to be displayed in the Great Gallery of Holyrood palace in 1684-6. The Duke of York, and future James VII was most likely behind the commission. Of the original 111 portraits, 96 survive today, and they are still to be found in the Great Gallery at Holyrood.

A Misinterpreted Manuscript Addressed to Madame Anne de la Tour, Princesse de l'Écosse

At the Kroninklijke Bibliotheek in the Hague, a manuscript written on vellum is catalogued under the title: *Genealogy of Anne de la Tour, Princess of Scotland*.¹²² Unlike the Paris Manuscript, this work has been researched in recent years with two key articles published in 2005-6: one by Colette Beaune and Elodie Lequain, and a second by Anne Schoysman.¹²³ Both were, to some degree, based on the premise that the manuscript was commissioned by Albany's wife, Anne de la Tour, most likely from the renowned court historiographer Jean Lemaire de Belges.¹²⁴ The connection to Jean Lemaire was first made when François Avril noticed that the banner held by the portrait of a nobleman on the second folio bore the motto 'Unless what we do is useful, our glory is in vain,' a motto Lemaire had previously published on the closing page of his work, *the Legend of the Venetians*, published in Lyon in 1509, (3.36).¹²⁵

These assumptions will be challenged in this section: an alternative solution will be proposed for both the artist/author and, to a degree, the patron of this work. The first unusual aspect of this manuscript is its dedication. The author begins the manuscript by dedicating his work to 'the very high and powerful and illustrious princess of Scotland,' hence the title it is catalogued under.¹²⁶ Anne de la Tour is not referenced by this title in any other known French sources. This prompted an investigation into other aspects of the manuscript that relate specifically to Scottish interests, and therefore suggest the involvement of her husband, the Duke of Albany.¹²⁷

The opening page of the Hague manuscript, and indeed the dedication, leave little doubt that

122 *Genealogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

123 While both articles give detailed descriptions of the manuscript they focus solely on the French historical material contained in the work and neither consider the Scottish references. Beaune, & Lequain, 2005, 385 – 417; Schoysman, 2006, 57-8, 315-334. The manuscript is also discussed in Korteweg, 2002, 127-8.

124 Jean Lemaire de Belges, (c. 1473 – 1525), was a Franco-Flemish poet and historiographer. During his career he was in the employment of a number of illustrious patrons; in 1498 in the service of Peter II, Duke of Bourbon, in 1504 of Margaret of Austria, afterwards regent of the Netherlands, in 1512 he was in the service of Anne of Brittany the queen of France. He is of great importance to art historians for the interest he demonstrates in the visual arts. He even claimed to have practised painting himself, furthermore his writing testifies to his friendship with the renowned French artist, Perréal.

125 'Si non vtile est quod facimus stulticia est gloria', 'Unless what we do is useful our glory is in vain'. Lemaire de Belges, 1972; Beaune, & Lequain, 2005, 386; Schoysman, 2006, 57-8, 315-316.

126 'Pour l'honneur et exaltacion de la treshaultantique et magnificque lignee de treshault et puissante et illustrissime princesse d'Ecosse, duchess Dalbanie countesse de bologne et dauvergne et de la marche.....Anne de la tour.' The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.2r, 2v. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

127 On the treatise drawn up in 1518, which details the split of properties inherited between Anne de la Tour and her sister Madeleine, agreed and signed by their husbands at Amboise, Anne is consistently referred to as Anne de Boulogne. In her will composed in 1524 she is referred to as Hault & Puissant Dame Madame Anne de Boulogne Duchesse d'Albanie, comtesse de Bouloigne & d'Auvergne. Baluze, 1708, II, 684-5, 689.

regardless of who commissioned the manuscript, it was intended to be presented to Anne de la Tour. The opening page is decorated with a colourful display of Anne's coat of arms, crowned, and encircled by a wreath of foliage. A comparison between the opening pages of both the Paris and Hague Manuscripts shows clear similarities in composition. The Paris Manuscript displays Albany's arms, also crowned, and also encircled in foliage. Each composition is situated in an outlined square. Most tellingly of all are the small doves in flight, with emanating rays of light, and the motto that accompanies them, (3.37).¹²⁸ These doves are very similar in size and attitude in both illuminations. Each dove bears a halo, similar striations of light, and in each instance the same partial rendering of the motto has been used: 'SVB.VMBRA.TVAR'. The connection between the two manuscripts will be examined in greater detail later in this chapter.

The first and most obvious connection to Albany occurs on folios, 2r and 28r, (3.36 & 3.38). Folio 2r includes a winding banderole, displaying the script 'vivite felicex J. A' or Live Happy John Stuart and Anne de la Tour. On f.28r the same sentiment is repeated, this time arranged around a large 'J' and 'A,' joined by a love knot, in a decorative arrangement that takes up a third of the page. This type of decoration was commonly employed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, often in relation to marriage celebrations. It is clear, however, that this work was not a marriage gift. John Stuart and Anne de la Tour were married in 1505, and the manuscript can be accurately dated to 1518, (one year earlier than the Paris Manuscript). This is due to the inclusion in the text of a mention of the marriage of Anne's sister, Madeleine, to Lorenzo de' Medici, an event which was celebrated at Amboise in January, 1518.¹²⁹ Yet there is no mention of the birth of their daughter, Catherine de Medici, in April 1519. Confirmation of this dating is given later in the manuscript, where it is mentioned that the crusade of 1060 was four hundred and fifty-eight years earlier.¹³⁰

The manuscript in the Hague contains an eclectic combination of elements, which may be divided into four parts. Following the introduction, the work begins with a story of the brothers Pharaon and Archemolu.¹³¹ This section ends on f.28, where the inclusion of the J & A love-knot heralds the beginning of the first genealogy of the counts of Boulogne and Auvergne. Introduced by the legend of Saint Nectaire, this genealogy is traced from Ligier, the nephew of King Arthur, to Jeanne de Boulogne, Anne's mother.¹³² The third part of the manuscript contains a second heraldic

128 A connection between these two manuscripts has never been examined before and no study has compared these two works. I refer once again to the similarities between the two flying doves used on these heraldic opening-pages and the holy dove found in the La Tour d'Auvergne Triptych, North Carolina Museum of Art, GL.60.17.61. c.1497.

129 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.52r. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

130 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.42v. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518. A note in the margin of this folio probably written by Paul Pétau, a previous owner of the manuscript, notes that the date of the work must be 1518.

131 The story of Pharaon and Archemolu covers f.3v-28r of the manuscript. Beaune, & Lequain, 2005, 390 – 392.

132 The legend of St Nectaire is found on f.28v-29v. The first genealogy covers f.30r-34r, The Hague, KB, 74 G 11. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

genealogy, stretching from King Arthur to the marriages of John and Anne, and her sister Madeleine to Lorenzo.¹³³ The fourth part of the manuscript contains a collection of illuminated poems and epitaphs, ending in ten drawings of châteaux in the Auvergne, which formed the inheritance of Albany and Anne de la Tour.¹³⁴

This last section of the manuscript contains poems and drawings of the principal properties inherited by Albany after his marriage into the de la Tour family, and it is likely that one of the primary aims of the manuscript was to detail the split of properties inherited by Albany and Anne following the marriage of Anne's sister, Madeleine. This final section contains drawings of the châteaux at Vic-le-Comte, Buron, Mercurol, Cremps, Ybois, Couppel, Saint Babel, Busséol, Mirefleur, and Laps. All the châteaux depicted, a number of which still stand today, were located in the area just south-east of Clermont-Ferrand, (Map 2).¹³⁵ Furthermore, a comparison between those buildings that still stand and the illustrations in the Hague Manuscript suggests that these representations were executed from life, as sketchy topographical portraits, (3.39-40).¹³⁶ The text that accompanies the images of the châteaux gives an evaluation of the revenues that Albany would have expected to gain from each property, and the poems that are situated next to the drawings extol both the virtues of the buildings and their surrounding countryside. For instance, the list of accounts next to the image of Vic-le-Comte details the income that Albany would have received from the sale of fabrics, cheese, wine, and rice, among other produce, and the poem accompanying the image stresses the antiquity and beauty of both the château and the town. That this section of the manuscript was aimed specifically at Albany, rather than his wife, is implied by the text accompanying the image of Saint Babel that states 'Je suis Sainct Babel, belle mocte, mon maistre est le duc de'Albanie.'¹³⁷ Of further interest is a copy of this section of the Hague Manuscript, which dates to 1552 and contains the arms of Marie de Medici.¹³⁸ A comparison between the drawings of the châteaux in each of these manuscripts demonstrates that the 1552 work was executed with direct reference to the Hague Manuscript, most likely for Catherine de Medici, Albany's niece and the

133 The second genealogy is found on f.34r-52v. The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

134 The final part of the manuscript containing the illuminated poems, epitaphs, and drawings of châteaux covers f.52v-65r. The Hague, KB, 74 G 11. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

135 An interesting earlier manuscript that includes topographical portraits of a number of the same châteaux is the *Revel Armorial*. Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 22297, c.1456. See: Fournier, 1973, and Bernage, Courtillé & Mégemont, 2002.

136 Evidence that the artist sketched these châteaux from life may most clearly be seen in the drawings of Buron, where the stone arched gateway at the bottom of this hill still stands today, and in the drawing of Busseol, where the artist has presented the château from a slight aerial perspective. The layout of the château corresponds accurately to the building as it stands today. Comparisons with meagre remains of the châteaux at Vic-le-comte and Mirefleur also correspond closely to the drawings.

137 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.62v. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518. There are further references specifically to Albany given in the accounts on f.65v and f. 68r.

138 Paris, BnF, Arsenal ms. 4264. It is likely that Catherine de Medici, as Albany's niece and heir, inherited the Hague Manuscript along with the properties themselves. This copy was most likely executed for Catherine in 1552 before being inherited by Marie de Medici.

recipient of these properties after his death, (3.41).¹³⁹

Returning to the Hague Manuscript, further evidence of material of particular interest to Albany can also be found in the third section: the heraldic genealogy. The genealogy presented is a curious assembly of famous figures, that can be woven into the semi-fictional line of descent from King Arthur to Albany and Anne de la Tour. This in itself requires some comment, as the author has chosen the Anglo-Flemish origin-figure of King Arthur from which to trace descent, rather than the more commonly used figure of Charlemagne.¹⁴⁰ Perhaps this was a choice made to reinforce the antiquity of the lineage, or to stress the broader European nature of the line as distinct from that of French royalty. A particularly interesting figure who is granted almost a full page is Mary, Countess of Boulogne, the youngest daughter of Malcolm Canmore and St Margaret of Scotland.¹⁴¹ The importance of her coat of arms is stressed by the few lines of text above them, reminding the reader that these are 'Les armes de la fille du Roy descocce qui fut comtesse de bologne,' thus underlining an ancient connection between the royal house of Scotland and the counts of Boulogne. Such a connection would have been of great interest to Albany, who appears eager to stress the value of his royal Scottish ancestry in order to demonstrate his worthiness as a match for the wealthy and distinguished family of Anne de la Tour. Furthermore, the Paris Manuscript, discussed in the previous section, would have furnished Albany with all the necessary information as to how Mary, Countess of Boulogne, fitted into his own line of descent, (3.42). Mary was born c.1082, and as the youngest sister of King David I of Scotland was married to Eustace III, Count of Boulogne, elder brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, both of whom gained fame during the first crusade. The inclusion of the arms of Mary and Eustace must surely be read as a prefiguration of the later match between Scotland and the counts of Boulogne: that of John Stuart and Anne de la Tour.

The compiler of the manuscript also devoted considerable attention to Mary's brother-in-law, Godfrey of Bouillon, whose arms are shown on f.42v, (3.43). Godfrey found fame as one of the leading knights of the first crusade, and was awarded the title of ruler of Jerusalem. He was idealised in later accounts and included in the list of ideal knights that made up the nine worthies. The arms that represent Godfrey of Bouillon in the Hague Manuscript would have evoked particular associations for Albany and his wife. The arms are depicted surrounded by swirling Renaissance-style foliage, among which are nestled the instruments of the Passion.¹⁴² Albany was by all accounts

139 Although the overall compositions are strikingly similar there are, however, differences in the drawings which suggest some of the changes that had occurred between 1518, (the date of the Hague Ms) and 1552 (the date of the Arsenal Ms). This is most clearly illustrated in the images of Buron, which had already fallen into ruins by the time of the 1552 drawing, and the drawing of Coupeil, which had lost its wooden superstructure by this time.

140 Beaune, & Lequain, 2005, 392-397.

141 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.40v. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

142 It was common in late-medieval depictions of Godfrey of Bouillon for him to be crowned with the instruments of the Passion, and particularly, the crown of thorns. Having conquered Jerusalem, Godfrey, out of piety, refused to

a very pious man, and took particular pride in his collection of sacred relics. Accounts survive, for instance, noting his propensity for swearing 'upon a piece of the holy cross and other diverse relics which be in a tablet of gold, hung around his neck.'¹⁴³ But by far the duke's most prized possession was a relic he inherited through his wife's family, a thorn from the Crown of Thorns. So highly did Albany regard this relic that, in the years following the production of this manuscript, he embarked on the foundation of a Sainte-Chapelle in order to house it.¹⁴⁴ The chapel was constructed between 1520 and 1524, and was the ninth and last Sainte-Chapelle to be built following Louis XI's principal foundation in 1246.¹⁴⁵ The prominence given to the Crown of Thorns, perched as a torse on the helm in Godfrey of Bouillon heraldry in the Hague Manuscript, must have been seen as a reference to the duke's most prized possession. Furthermore, the symbolic contrast between the Crown of Thorns and the earthly monarchical crown above it was a visual devise which Albany appears to return to repeatedly, (3.43).

The Duke of Albany's Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le Comte was originally built adjoining a grand château which no longer exists.¹⁴⁶ The chapel was consecrated under the double invocation of the *Saintly Crown of Thorns of Jesus Christ* and of *Saint John the Baptist*, the patron saint of the founder, (3.44).¹⁴⁷ The decorative program of the chapel is dominated by its remarkable scheme of sixteenth-century stained glass windows, and an imposing stone reredos displaying the figures of the four cardinal, and three theological, virtues.¹⁴⁸ Just as the Hague Manuscript draws the parallel

accept the title of king and thus is often shown wearing a crown of thorns rather than a royal crown. See for instance a print by Lucas van Leyden of c.1520.

143 *Calendar of State Papers, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, II: 1515-1518, No. 2610. The Clarencieux herald writing to Wolsey about John Stuart states, '...that he forsaketh his part of paradise, and giveth him, body and soul, to all the devils of hell; and further swear in like manner, upon an piece of the holy cross, and on divers other relics, which be in a tablet of gold hanging about his neck, beseeching God if he minded not as he said, that all his life an evil chance and evil fortune might fall upon him.' If you examine the portrait drawing of John Stuart attributed to Jean Clouet, (3.1), there are traces of a knotted cord drawn around his neck, perhaps indicating the cord holding such relics.

144 Baluze recorded in engravings a number of relics and reliquaries held at the Sainte Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, c.1708. These included a hexagonal ivory box held by two angels, containing a tooth of the Virgin and a beautifully modelled reliquary of the head of St John the Baptist. Both bearing the arms of the counts of Boulogne and/or de la Tour, d'Auvergne. Baluze, 1708, I, 331, 332. He also included engravings of a spectacular pair of embroidered chasubles, decorated with scenes of the infancy of Christ and the arms of de la Tour and d'Auvergne. All these items are now untraced. Wessel notes that an inventory of 1790, now lost, recorded a, 'un reliquaie en vermeil contenant une épine de la couronne de Notre-Seigneur,' Wessel, 2003, 217, n. 496.

145 Billot, 1998.

146 Of the château at Vic-le-Comte there just remains just one arched doorway. BnF, ms. fr 4652, consists of an inventory of titles and charters of the house of Boulogne and includes a list of the coats-of-arms once found decorating an illuminated window in the gallery of the château of Vic-le-Comte, f.30-45. The description was written by Augustin Le Prévost for Catherine de Medici.

147 For the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte see: Bielawski, 1887. *Récits d'un touriste auvergnat*; Biélawski, 1887, *Histoire de la Comté d'Auvergne et de sa capitale Vic-le-Comte*; Fouilhoux, 1898; Fouilhoux, 1909; Deshoulières, 1925, 101 – 111; Fouilhoux, 1926; Toynbee, 1948; Billot, 1987; Luneau, 1995; Luneau, 1996; Wessel, 2003.

148 The central window was restored but follows the original iconography of the Tree of Jesse. The two side windows are for the most part preserved in their original state and show a complex parallel of Old Testament and New Testament scenes. The decoration at the Sainte Chapelle is interesting for many reasons. Running around the outside of the chapel is a remarkable cornice of sculpted animal and vegetal forms, including the salamander of François I,

between secular and religious kingship by contrasting the Crown of Thorns with the earthly monarchical crown, the theme around which the stained glass windows appear to be arranged is the contrast between Old Testament kingship with the idea of Christ as *King of the Jews*.¹⁴⁹ This contrast is perhaps most clearly emphasised in the fourteenth pair of images, which show Christ's descent from the cross, bearing the Crown of Thorns, compared with the visually paralleled scene of the Old Testament figure of King Aï, also descending from a cross. The point of the parallel is stressed by the prominent regal head-ware, emphasising the contrast of earthly and religious kingship, (3.45).¹⁵⁰ The majority of the opposing scenes in these windows appear to follow this iconographic scheme, and stress themes of virtuous kingship through a comparison between heavenly and earthly rule. It is interesting to note that the whole iconographic scheme is cemented by the central Tree of Jesse which presents the genealogy of Christ from the Old Testament figure of Jesse, the father of King David. At the base of this genealogical tree are Albany and his wife, Anne de la Tour, (3.46). The genealogical tree acts as a visual connection, marking the transition from the Old Testament scenes to the New, but also allows Albany and his wife to be associated with the themes expressed, i.e. kingship and genealogy, themes which are also prominently explored in both the Paris and Hague Manuscripts. While the central window of the *Tree of Jesse* and its donor portraits was replaced in 1891, it closely follows the descriptions of the original window. Furthermore, an engraving by Baluze of 1708, records the original appearance of the donor portraits and their heraldry, (3.47).¹⁵¹

Returning to the Hague Manuscript, it is at the beginning of the fourth section of the work

acorns, and the thistle. The interior is decorated with twelve sculpted figures of the apostles, each situated in an ornate niche. Recent research by Guy-Michel Leproux has identified a document that records the transfer of twelve terracotta figures of apostles from Paris to Vic-le-Comte for Albany in August, 1529. Leproux identifies these sculptures on stylistic grounds with the work of the Florentine artist, Giovanni Francesco Rustici, who travelled to Paris in 1528, where he worked on an equestrian statue for François I. Leproux, 2004, 75-91. For Rustici see Vasari. 1900, vol 7, 111-127. The choir is also surrounded by an ornate balustrade which bears multiple mutilated coats of arms, some of which are identifiable as those of Albany and Anne de la Tour. The reredos is very finely sculpted and represents Faith, Hope, and Charity above Temperance, Prudence, and Justice. Force has been missing for many years. Dalure writing in 1789 records that atop this reredos stood two nude sculptures of Adam and Eve, flanking God the Father. These figures apparently outraged some visitors to the chapel, who claimed they were indecent and they were subsequently removed and replaced by plaster figures of two angels and the Virgin. (Legrand for instance describes the sculptures as 'vraiment scandaleux, et digne des reproches les plus graves'). The replacements have also now been removed. The original figures existence, however, suggests an overall decorative program that sought to link the sculpted figure of Adam and Eve and the stained glass window of the Tree of Jesse behind, suggesting that there was a carefully devised overall program of iconography. The quality of carving in the stone reredos suggests an attribution to a successor of Michel Colombe. It is clear that the reredos was commissioned by Albany and his wife as traces of their arms may still be seen. Legrand d'Aussy, 1787-8, 239-248; Dulaure. 1789. 406-12; Biélawski, 1887, 323; Deshoulières, 1925, 101-11.

149 For the stained glass windows at Vic-le-Comte, see Gatouillat & Hérold, 2011; Luneau, 1995 & Luneau 1996. The windows are arranged as a series of Old Testament scenes paralleled with their New Testament counterparts. Each scene, therefore, in the left-hand window prefigures its corresponding scene on the right-hand window, following the early mediaeval tradition of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* or the *Biblia Pauperum*. The central window contains one large central scene of the *Tree of Jesse* with Albany and Anne de la Tour each kneeling in prayer below.

150 For the Old Testament episode see: Joshua, 8.29.

that the clearest evidence is found indicating that Albany was involved in its commission. The double-page arrangement, f.52v & 53r, occurs at the end of the heraldic genealogy and marks the start of the eclectic last section of the work, (3.48). Albany and his wife's coat of arms form an impressive finale to the earlier heraldic illuminations. Golden striations of light have been used to highlight their importance. Beneath the heraldic composition is written an eight-line poem which reads:

*'The year one thousand, four hundred, eighty and two in July
The eighth was born on earth,
Albany, bonnie child,
who will by sea conquer;
Scotland also England,
and put them into subjection,
by strength of arms and of war;
he will take possession of them.'*¹⁵²

These few lines provide us with some interesting information. Firstly, they confirm the exact date of Albany's birth, a date which has been cited as anywhere between 1480 and 1485. Secondly, it sets out in forceful terms his military ambitions. Although to some degree, such a bullish statement may be seen as political and social posturing, it is nevertheless notable that in August 1517 a letter was sent to Henry VIII from France recounting rumours that François I was providing Albany with men and resources intended for an attack on England. The letter notes that Albany had approximately thirty of the best pieces of artillery made for the mission, and that he was collaborating with Richard de la Pole, the Duke of Suffolk, in this endeavour.¹⁵³ These recurring rumours have almost unanimously been dismissed by historians as baseless, yet the poem in the Hague Manuscript must surely raise the question as to whether these rumours actually had some basis in fact, and whether they originated from some form of declaration of intent from Albany himself.

Below this poem is written: *'The prognostication of the nativity of prince John, Duke of Albany, as speculated by, the planets.'*¹⁵⁴ This is followed by three verses of eight lines, on the influence of the planetary deities on the life of John Stuart. It starts by noting that Venus, the principal planet that governs his birth, promises him papal power. He is then referred to as double-crowned, two times king, an affirmation of his military ambitions as expressed above. The other planets offer him various privileges and challenges: Mars threatens him with adversity, Sol governs his heart and grants him kingdoms and provinces, Jupiter punishes his enemies, Saturn will generate

¹⁵¹ Baluze, 1708, I, 358.

¹⁵² The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.52v. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

¹⁵³ Bonner, 2004. 'John Stuart, 1482-1536', *O.D.N.B.*

¹⁵⁴ The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.52v-53r. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

strife, Mercury is gracious, Luna promises good fortune, and contradiction shall be avoided in order not to displease Minerva. The poem as a whole can be seen as an affirmation of Albany's power, prestige, and a prophesy of what will be, according to the planets, a glorious life.¹⁵⁵

The initial statement that Albany would be granted papal power is particularly interesting. This requires a brief explanation, as by 1518 Albany can have had no real idea of just how true this prediction would prove to be. The statement had no doubt been made in recognition of the marriage of Madeleine de la Tour to Lorenzo de' Medici, the nephew of Pope Leo X, and to the clear strengthening of ties that this family connection would bring between Albany and the pope. By 1518 he may already have harboured ideas of exploiting this link for his own ends, he cannot however have known that in a couple of months of the birth of Madeleine and Lorenzo's only child, Catherine de Medici, both parents would be dead and thus Catherine's two closest remaining guardians would be Pope Leo X and Albany.¹⁵⁶ Albany appears to have fully exploited this link to gain papal favours both for his own interests and for those of Scotland. This is demonstrated during one of the duke's visits to Rome in 1520. This particular occasion proved an excellent opportunity for Albany, to not only secure a papal bull confirming his position as governor, as we saw earlier, but also to attend to some private business and gain permission for himself, and his wife, to construct the Sainte Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte. A detail of this papal bull shows the crowned arms of Albany literally tied to those of Pope Leo X, a clear visual statement of the sentiments expressed in the poem in the Hague Manuscript, (3.49). Other visual details embellishing the papal bull emphasise Albany's dual affiliations to the the royal houses of Scotland and France, and was clearly intended to show his conjoined arms with those of his wife, (3.50).¹⁵⁷ It is Albany alone however whose arms are represented literally bound to those of the pope.

Following the death of Leo X in 1521, Albany was appointed Catherine's tutor, as her closest surviving male relative. Following the election of Pope Clement VII in 1523, Albany appears to have taken great care to continue, and further, favourable papal relations. The opening pages of a copy of the Hague Manuscript now held at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, indicates that it was produced as a gift from Albany to Clement VII, c. 1530.¹⁵⁸ The manuscript opens with the emblems,

¹⁵⁵ This interest in the planets was in vogue during this period. It also echoes earlier examples of Franco-Scottish interest in such matters. For instance following his victory at the Battle of Baugé in 1421, the earl of Buchan was awarded the singular honour of the services of the sovereign astrologer, Germain de Thibouville. After passing into Buchan's service, Thibouville, it is said to have immediately prophesied the death of Charles VI and Henry V, who did indeed both pass-away very soon after. Visual evidence of an interest in the planetary deities may also be seen in the calendar of the Monypenny Breviary, and perhaps in the chapel medallions at la Verrerie. Vallet de Viriville, 1862, I, 260-1.

¹⁵⁶ See note 35.

¹⁵⁷ The conjoined arms are left unfinished.

¹⁵⁸ Although Beaune suggests that this manuscript was produced as a gift from Anne de la Tour to Clement VII, between November 1523 and mid-June 1524, the illustrations themselves do not bear this out. The portrait of Clement VII, for instance, on f.3r shows an elderly figure with a full white beard. Clement VII is known to have

arms, and portrait of Clement VII, (3.51).¹⁵⁹ This is then followed by the arms and motto of Albany and his wife, (3.52).¹⁶⁰ As a gift to the pope, this manuscript highlights in clear visual terms Albany's wish to preserve his close alliance with the papacy. That copies of the Hague Manuscript were used as gifts in order to strengthen alliances is again suggested by a second copy of the genealogical sections of the Hague Manuscript, also held at the Bibliothèque nationale. This copy, although less lavish than the one made for the pope, appears also to have been made as a gift, this time for the la Guesle family, seigneurs de Busséol.¹⁶¹ Again the manuscript prominently displays the arms, emblem, and motto of Albany and his wife, Anne de la Tour, (3.53).

The aim in this section has been to demonstrate that a number of the elements included in the Hague Manuscript relate specifically to the interests of Albany, and therefore suggest that it is worthwhile considering whether Albany commissioned this manuscript as a gift for his wife following the betrothal of her sister to Lorenzo de' Medici. This gift sets out her impeccable lineage, the excellent prospects of her husband, and details the couple's inheritance in terms of the châteaux they received after Madeleine's marriage. This hypothesis is given further weight by considering the question of who was the author/artist of this manuscript. It has already been shown that the Hague Manuscript is closely connected to the Paris Manuscript that was examined earlier. A careful examination of both works leaves little doubt that they were executed by the same hand. Comparisons between the male and female facial types, (3.54), between the ornamentation of the illuminated letters, (3.55), and between the handwriting and its embellishments, (3.56), demonstrates that the Hague and the Paris Manuscripts were very likely the work of the same hand.¹⁶² Small details such as the finely drawn marginal embellishments of profile faces included

grown a beard only in 1527 as a sign of mourning for the sack of Rome. He kept this beard until his death in 1534. By dating the manuscript to after 1527 it is clear that it was commissioned by Albany rather than his wife who died in 1524. Beaune, & Lequain, 2005, 387. The arranger of this copy is named as Jean Couteau about whom little is known.

159 Clement VII was born Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici and was Catherine de Medici's uncle. His motto was, '*Candor Illaevs*,' meaning whiteness undamaged, innocence unharmed. In his emblem, the motto was inscribed on a white banner, curled around a tree, next to a trunk supporting a crystal ball. Rays of light concentrated on two points. See his impresa in Paolo Giovio's text of 1559, which explained that the rays of the sun, passed through a ball of crystal, intensifying and unifying according to the nature of perspective so that they burnt all objects except the very whitest, emphasising the pope's purity. The second emblem is that of the Medici family, displaying a falcon and a diamond ring with the legend *Semper*. See Perry, 1977, 676-687; Giovio, 1559, 41, 45.

160 The emblems and motto of Albany are shown here in an unusual form. The wings are displayed in a similar arrangement to those on the enamel plaques, while the motto is entwined around twin burning logs. It is likely that this manuscript played some part in the long and complex negotiations regarding Catherine de Medici's marriage to François I's son, in which Albany was instrumental. Albany visited and corresponded frequently with Clement VII in the years leading up to the marriage and was central in arranging this match.

161 François de la Guesle was captain of château Mirefleur for Albany and later for Catherine de Medici. Fouilhoux, 1926, 343. The château of Busséol as we have seen was inherited by Albany and is included in the Hague Manuscript, (f.63v). François de la Guesle features in numerous documents included in Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 4652. (A collection of documents concerning the houses of Boulogne and Auvergne dating to the sixteenth century).

162 Bearing in mind the aesthetic differences between parts of the Paris Manuscript, executed in black ink on paper, and the Hague Manuscript and the genealogy in the Paris Manuscript, which are executed in brown ink on vellum.

throughout both manuscripts, and a comparison between the spelling and turn-of-phrase used in each work, only strengthen this theory.¹⁶³

In Anne Schoysman's discussion of the authorship of the Hague Manuscript, she noted that 'we have every reason to think that it is Lemaire represented holding a banderole with the devise in the frontispiece of the Hague Manuscript,' (3.57).¹⁶⁴ However, when she discusses this illustration she omits a vital detail. She quotes the motto 'Unless what we do is useful, our glory is in vain,' but does not mention the prominent capital letter 'D' facing the figure at the end of the banderole, a detail which is difficult to account for in relation to an identification of the figure as the court historiographer, John Lemaire de Belges. The explanation for this letter becomes clear, however, when we recognise that the author/artist of the Hague Manuscript is likely to be the same as that of the Paris Manuscript – i.e. Domat. This identification is strengthened by a consideration of f.55 in the Hague Manuscript, which shows an image of a fool holding a banner bearing the Erasmian quote 'To feign stupidity is in certain situations the highest wisdom,' (3.58).¹⁶⁵ Below this is an eight-line poem on good government. Below the poem, and an elaborate calligraphic flourish, is a capital letter 'D' and a small letter 'o', again an element that has hitherto been ignored. It is here argued that this further confirms that the author/artist of this work was not Jean Lemaire de Belges, but Domat.

In summary, this section of this thesis has proposed that the Hague and the Paris Manuscripts were both the work of Bremond Domat, for Albany and his wife. The Hague manuscript was executed in 1518, and the Paris work begun in 1519. It is likely, therefore, that both manuscripts were conceived at the same time, and formed two parts of the same commission, a commission which I believe originated with Albany. Both works focus on clarifying the illustrious genealogies of Albany and his wife, the Paris Manuscript illustrating Albany's Scottish heritage, and the Hague Manuscript focussing on his wife's Auvergnate descent.¹⁶⁶ Each work contains a wealth of information that would have proved invaluable for Albany's diplomatic duties, both as regent of Scotland and as guardian of his illustrious niece, Catherine de Medici. I suggest that, as these two works have not previously been examined together, this has led to a number of inaccuracies in their readings and has, certainly in the case of the Hague Manuscript, led to its references to

163 The letter flourishes of acanthus leaves and the diamond lattice embellishments also correspond closely.

164 Schoysman, 2006, 324. Schoysman does, however, express some doubt as to whether the handwriting could be attributed to Lemaire and as to whether the verses included are his work.

165 'STVLTIQIAM SIMILARE LOCO SVMMA [SAPIENTIA] EST' 'Sapientia appears to have been cropped off by some over-zealous trimming of the margins. 'Stultitiam simulare loco, sapientia summa est.' Erasmus, 1668, 62. Written in 1509 and first published in 1511, a copy of the Basel edition of 1515-16 was illustrated with pen and ink drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger. These include a depiction of a fool not dissimilar to the fool in the Hague Manuscript. Saxl, 1943. The quote, 'stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa est' is found in the work of Dionysius Cato, (3-4 AD), ultimately deriving from, 'stultitiam simulare loco sapientia summa est,' Horace, (65-8 BC).

166 Bearing in mind that Albany could also claim descent from this line given that his mother was another Anne de la Tour.

Albany being almost entirely unexplored. Most important of all is the re-attribution of this work from one of the most famous and influential rhetoricians, Jean Lemaire de Belges, to an all but forgotten, yet fascinating figure, Bremond Domat.

Who was Bremond Domat?

Who was Bremond Domat? He was a scholar and a historian, clearly capable of researching and compiling the two genealogical histories that came together in the marriage of Albany and Anne de la Tour. With regard to his source material, the preface of the Hague Manuscript states that the author extrapolated this genealogy from 'plusieurs grands et divers livres et volumes qui sont dans les tresors de nostre dame de boloigne gardes somptueusement en Picardie.'¹⁶⁷ The Paris Manuscript consists of a faithful translation of one text, the Latin *Liber Pluscardensis*, into French, with his own reworking of this material into an illuminated genealogy appended.

The possible author portrait on f.2r of the Hague Manuscript shows a finely dressed young man, who clearly saw himself as well-to-do, wearing golden brocade robes, an exotic hat and bearing a hefty purse, (3.57).¹⁶⁸ He was clearly a skilled artist and trained scribe, and a fairly inventive poet, and while his poetry falls some way short of the finest courtly work composed for the French king at this time, he does display a familiarity with contemporary poetic fashions. Domat was clearly in the service of Albany by 1518 and, as we will go on to see, it appears that he held this position for some considerable time afterwards. However, establishing exactly where he came from is problematic. Francisque Michel, who sent a description of the Paris Manuscript to Joseph Stevenson in the early-nineteenth century, stated in his work, *Les Ecosais en France*, that while neither the name Bremond nor Domat indicates any Scottish origin, it might be possible to identify the name with the Bermen; a family established in Scotland and in Normandy.¹⁶⁹ There is no real evidence to support this theory, but it does highlight the problem that the name, Bremond Domat, was not obviously either Scottish or French. Indeed, the style of his lettering and embellishments would suggest that he may have trained in northern France or southern Flanders.¹⁷⁰

Regardless of Domat's origin, it is possible to piece together evidence regarding his employment in the service of Albany. A careful examination of the paper section of the Paris Manuscript reveals two distinctive watermarks, occurring repeatedly in the paper used for this

167 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.2v. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518. For the treasury of Notre Dame de Boulogne see Clauzel-Delannoy, 2007.

168 His hair is not, however, depicted in a fashionable courtly style for the early-sixteenth century.

169 Michel, 1862, I, 342.

170 In discussing the style of the Hague Manuscript, Schoysman, notes that the neat bastard script and the decorations, in particular the decorated initials are similar to those in Burgundian manuscripts at the end of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Schoysman, 2006, 322. In attempting to identify Domat's hand in other works I have come across one manuscript which bears careful comparison with the Hague and Paris Manuscripts. This is a copy of *Passe temps du Pèlerin de vie humaine*, by Jean Glapion, (d.1522), Besançon B.M. Ms. 0231, (early-sixteenth century). The figural heads, bird and vegetal motifs that embellish this work are strikingly similar to those in the Domat's manuscripts.

work. These watermarks correspond almost exactly with those recorded for two paper mills operating in the Auvergne c.1520, (3.59).¹⁷¹ While this may come as little surprise, the confirmation that both paper, and patron, came from the Auvergne suggests that Domat may also have been working in this area. Fortuitously, an examination of Albany's lands and properties revealed that a building in Albany's home town of Mirefleur is called, even to this day, *Maison Domat*, (3.60).

In the early-sixteenth century, Mirefleur was the location of one of the ten châteaux belonging to Albany that featured in the Hague Manuscript. In fact, the Mirefleur residence was the château most favoured by the duke, and was the place at which he died in 1536, (3.61).¹⁷² It is unlikely that a building called *Maison Domat*, in the same small town where Albany spent most of his time in France, could be a coincidence. *Maison Domat* itself dates to the late-fifteenth century, and is known today as the house of the famed seventeenth-century jurist, Jean Domat.¹⁷³ Certainly, in the seventeenth century, this grand town-house was the property of the Domat family, and it is quite likely that the building could have been in the family's possession since the early-sixteenth century.¹⁷⁴ Of particular interest has been the recent discovery of a large volume of graffiti on the walls of the building, most of which appears to be eighteenth century in date but some of which is almost certainly a great deal older.¹⁷⁵ The graffiti consists of hundreds of sketches of faces of varying artistic merit, but also some sketches of buildings, etc.¹⁷⁶ The graffiti thus far uncovered may, at best, be seen as evidence of the family's continued artistic tendencies.

It is thus likely that Bremond Domat was an ancestor of the later, and more widely known, Jean Domat, and that he was perhaps one of the first residents of the building, *Maison Domat*. Supporting this theory is the depiction of château Mirefleur in the Hague Manuscript, (3.61). A comparison between this image and the other châteaux images suggests that Mirefleur may have benefited from some extra attention. The palette of colours is much broader, the château and

171 Briquet, 1968, nos. 12914 & 13390. Briquet identified no. 12914 as present in a document dating to c.1530 and no. 13390 in a document dating to 1516.

172 'Jean Stuart, duc d'Albanie.....paraît avoir particulièrement affectionné son château de Mirefleurs.' Fouilhoux, 1926, 347.

173 Jean Domat, (1625-1695), was a French jurist born in Clermont Ferrand. He was the son of another Jean Domat, a notary, and Marguerite Vaugron. His friendship with the mathematician and writer, Blaise Pascal, has subsequently proved the source of much scholarly interest. His principal work, *Les lois civiles dans leur ordre naturel*, (1689) was to become one of the principal sources of the ancien droit on which the Napoleonic code was later founded. For this undertaking Louis XIV settled on him a pension of 2000 livres.

174 The building is currently used as the headquarters of an archaeological group who have informed me that earlier records for the building were lost and prior to the seventeenth-century, nothing is known of the building's history. I am very grateful to Vincent Guichard for his kind assistance with this research.

175 I am also extremely grateful to Monique Bresson, the chair of the Mirefleur Association, for sending me images of the graffiti. The drawing that has caused the most interest is a possible portrait of Blaise Pascal perhaps drawn by Jean Domat himself. The drawing makes an interesting comparison to a portrait of Pascal executed in red-chalk by Jean Domat now held at Paris, BnF, RES M-F-8. See: Morvan, 1984, 6-18; Brin, 1962, 291-294.

176 Some of the sketches include text but what is decipherable has not proved particularly enlightening e.g. 'Jeanne Domat la camuse', 'Jeanne Domat with a big nose.'

grounds have been rendered in a finer degree of detail, and the poem that accompanies the image is given two verses instead of one.¹⁷⁷ The poem is written as an address by the residence to the duke and duchess. The château claims that 'of the county I am the flower, a small château of great value, I am a beautiful sight, with beautiful parkland and am the best place at which to spend time.' It also goes on to note some of its most attractive assets, the plentiful vineyards, the ponds full of fish, and the flora and fauna.¹⁷⁸ While it may have been at the duke and duchess's request that this praise and additional attention was lavished on Mirefleur, it may also be that this is a reflection of Domat's personal pride and particular familiarity, with his own place of residence.

Domat is not mentioned by contemporary chroniclers, and he does not feature in any of the duke's correspondence that I have thus far had access to. However, two further pieces of information have come to light which confirm that Domat was in the employment of Albany, in the Auvergne, fourteen years after he penned his dedication to the duke in the Paris Manuscript. Both of these documents concern the events of the year 1533, and a long journey that François I made around his kingdom, prior to travelling to Marseille to witness the marriage of Catherine de Medici and his son, Henri, duc d'Orléans. During this tour, François I visited the Auvergne, no doubt in part as recognition of Albany's services rendered in negotiating and securing this marriage.¹⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that this visit caused great jubilation for the people of the Auvergne, as a French king had not visited this area for one hundred and sixty years.¹⁸⁰ Triumphal entry ceremonies were planned by a number of towns which the king had promised to visit. In the Auvergne he was welcomed at Riom, Vic-le-Comte, Clermont, and Montferrand among others.¹⁸¹ Sir Anthony Browne, who was present at these events, wrote a letter to Cromwell stating that the king had arrived at Riom on 9 July, and the following day he was met several miles from the town by Albany. The same day the king travelled to Montferrand, where he was 'received by the citizens on horseback, and three hundred footmen with artillery, clothed in jerkins of cloth of gold, or orange velvet, or satin. Religious figures met him in the town with the sacrament and a procession. The

177 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f.64v & 65r. Bremond Domat, (?) 1518.

178 For the château at Mirefleur, previously known as Chateaufleur, see Fouilhoux, 1926, 339 -360.

179 Between 1530 and 1533 Albany acted as chief negotiator on behalf of François I for the marriage of his niece, Catherine de Medici, and the duc d'Orleans. The negotiations were complex and protracted as there were numerous interests to be considered. In August 1533, however, Albany returned to Italy to escort Catherine to France for her wedding. Catherine arrived on 6 September at La Spezia, where Albany had provided a fleet of ships. There Catherine and her train waited while Albany collected Clement VII, accompanied by thirteen cardinals and numerous prelates and officials, before returning to Villefranche on 6 October. On the 9th the entire party set sail for Marseilles. On 27 October the marriage contract was signed by Clement and Francois I, and the next day the young couple were married by the pope in a ceremony followed by a great banquet, a masked ball, and festivities which lasted for many days.

180 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1533*, VI, no. 811.

181 Until the early-modern period, Clermont and Montferrand remained separate cities: Clermont, an episcopal city; Montferrand, a comital one. On 15 April, 1630, the Edict of Troyes forcibly joined the two cities into the single city of Clermont-Ferrand.

streets were gravelled, and the sides hung with verdure, and covered with linen with the arms of the king, queen, and dauphin. In divers places there were fair pageants, and the streets were furnished with torches, and trumpets blown. After supper he went on to Clearmount, the best town in Ovarne, where he was received by the Bishop, who was the Chancellor's son, with three hundred footmen in russet and black, and conducted to his lodging with trumpets, drums, flutes, and guns, and a great noise of thunder withal. After the duke had brought the king to his lodging, he returned to Mountfarrant, which is but half a mile away. I have never seen three such towns so near together. The townsmen of Mount Farraunt gave the king a present of the value of 1,000 cr, and they of Clearmount gave him a cup of gold weighing 1,300 cr. He gave them both to one of his hunters. I never saw so goodly a country.'¹⁸²

A second account of the style in which Albany greeted the king to the Auvergne was given by Robert Aldrydge, who stated that 'the king was [recei]uyd after a fashion as I have not seen befo[re] ... stage at the first gate gorgeously apparelled, [and there] upon stood a young woman richly clothed with ij ... of gold, speaking to the king, and delivering [the] keys. Within all the way the king went the t[own was] hanged over with fair linen cloths upon bowe ... walls hanged with arras, children to the num[ber of] forty in garments of silk, spears in their hands [crying] *viva le Roy*. In the midst of the town three o[r four] young women upon a stage in like gorgeous a[pparel]. In the third place, likewise the fyft, with tr[umpets] and other minstrelsy. I should have said ho[w that] without the town the burgeys met the king [on] horseback, of whom one spake a brief proposition ... the towns end the clergy with procession.'¹⁸³

It appears that Albany was responsible for ensuring that the towns of the Auvergne did their very utmost to impress their honoured guest. The accounts of the triumphal entries show that Albany was at the very heart of the preparations, and no doubt oversaw the broader orchestration of the visit, however, he achieved this only by employing some of his most trusted advisers. Accounts for the provision of wine testify that François I stayed at château Mirefleur during this visit, again demonstrating Albany's pride in this particular château.¹⁸⁴ Surviving council records regarding the preparations involved in organising these pageants and spectacles tell us a great deal about the

182 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1533*, VI, no. 811. The gift that Anthony Browne mentions from the townspeople of Montferrand appears to have been the work of a local goldsmith: Michael Armand. It is described in the town accounts as follows: 'ung parquet dans lequel sera enlevé ung mont et au pié dudict mont ung lyon couché sur ses pattes regardant une plante de lis, et au-dessus dudict mont l'escusson de France, le tout enrichy et émaillé et acoustré de la sorte que ledict Armand l'a pourtraict; et dadventaige oultre ledict pourtraict faire ung preau entre le parc et le mont, le tout semé de fleurs de lis, enrichy de couleurs en la milleure forme que faire se pourra. Et sera du poix de cent escus plus ou moins, le plus justement approchant desdicts cent écus que faire se pourra', Teilhard, 1888, 436.

183 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1533*, VI, no. 831.

184 Châteaux Mirefleur was, however, of insufficient size to accommodate the king and all of his retinue so a second château, Dieu-Y-Soit, was also prepared. All these preparations did not come cheap and Albany was reimbursed by the crown the sum of 14000 écus d'or soliel, for his expenses. Fouilhoux, 1926, 348.

efforts that were made to honour this special occasion. The accounts for the town of Montferrand note expenditure for a triumphal arch and several scaffolds decorated with allegorical displays.¹⁸⁵ Danyel Martin, a painter from Bruges, was employed to ornament the stages.¹⁸⁶ The streets were cleaned, roads mended, and houses decorated all in the typical manner for an important State visit. It is unfortunate however that many parts of the accounts go without explanation, and that we are told almost nothing of the entertainments enacted on these stages, except that ladies from the town were employed and dressed in taffeta.¹⁸⁷ Of central importance to this study are several accounts that note that the town councillors consulted a certain Bremond Domat, in order that he might advise them on their entertainments.¹⁸⁸ Even more fascinating is the fact that he was consulted not only by the councillors of Montferrand, but also by the town of Clermont, who were organising a quite separate entry ceremony, hinting at the possibility that Bremond Domat acted as an overall coordinator and artistic advisor for the spectacles prepared in towns under Albany's command.¹⁸⁹ So although we know little of these silent plays, enacted along the processional routes of the king's entry into both Clermont and Montferrand, we do know that their planing was overseen by Bremond Domat, who appears to have been *arbiter elegantiarum* for the preparations.

In conclusion, the purpose of this section was to bring together two manuscripts connected to Albany: the Paris Manuscript, which has received very little scholarly attention to date, and the Hague Manuscript, which has been largely misinterpreted. This misinterpretation stemmed from scholars addressing the work purely in the light of Anne de la Tour, and the French side of this family, and failing to investigate the Scottish side and thus the interests of her husband, Albany. Bringing these two manuscripts together not only shows that similar themes were addressed in each work – ideal kingship, noble lineage, and Franco-Scottish relations, but also allows attribution of both works to the same hand, that of Bremond Domat.

185 Teilhard, 1888, 28-9; Bossuat, 1957, 92.

186 Other painters employed included Jean Imbelot from Clermont and Loys Reynault. Teilhard. 1888. 28-30.

187 Teilhard, 1888. 33, 40. The only entry ceremony on this tour that was described in any detail by an eyewitness account was that at Puy which was observed by Etienne Medici and which took place eight days after the events at Clermont and Montferrand. We know that at Puy there was a tableaux vivant of the seven liberal arts and it has been speculated that this followed the famous wall-painting of this subject found in the cathedral there. Masson, 1958, 150-70. For an account of the entry see Chassaing, 1818. I.

188 'Le mardi viii de Juillet, pour le desense dudict Fouchier et de Cholier, qui furent à Vic, pour parler à Mr Brémont Domas, à cause qu'on ne pouvoit finer de M. Jean de Faugières pour faire les jeuz', 'Ledict jour, à Montferrand, pour ce que lesdicts Fchier et Cholier n'avoient trouvé ledict Domat, feirent besoigner M.François Lozoux et fust despendu pour le gouter dudict Lozoux, Cholier et Richomme,' 'Plus fut donné à Mr Brémont Domat qui fut en ceste ville et feist ung gect des jeuz, qui se devoit jouer, lesquelz furent communiquez dans l'auditoire à la pluspart de messieurs les conseillers, qui adversèrent lui donner un escu soliel, ce qui fut faict, pour ce', Teilhard, 1888. 39-40.

189 'Plus, a esté ordonné que sera baillé à Ms Bremond Domat, qui a demeuré deux jours pour deviser la façon qu'on devra prandre à l'affère, la somme de six livres par Jehan Fournier, trésorier, auquel q esté baillé mandement d'icelle,' 'A esté ordonné que mons. L'esleu Belabre ira à Riom, pour soy enquirir, et parlera à Mr Breymont Domat.' Bouillet. 1842, III, 51, 63.

The identification of Bremond Domat as author, scribe, and artist of these two works is an exciting development. This situates Domat firmly in the tradition of the leading French humanists of his time, fulfilling similar duties for Albany as we know Jean Perréal, for instance, fulfilled for successive French monarchs. Like Perréal, Domat appears to have demonstrated his ability to fulfil a range of humanist endeavours, he was at once poet, artist, and artistic advisor for triumphal entry ceremonies. He was aware of his own talents, and in the Renaissance tradition was not afraid to sign or leave clues to his identity for posterity. That some of his work has been confused with that of Jean Lemaire de Belges can only be seen as further confirming his abilities, stressing the quality of his work. It has been remarked that Albany's foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle bears the imprint of the sumptuous artistic tastes of royalty, and in all examples of the duke's patronage it is possible to see the strong influence of artistic fashions directly emanating from the French court. Albany certainly understood the value of investing in visual display. With regards to the patron - artist relationship between Albany and Domat, this research has scratched the surface of what was, in all likelihood, a working relationship that spanned in excess of a decade. It is likely that beyond these two manuscripts, and the accounts for the triumphal entry ceremonies, there is more material still to be found.

Compared to the previous patrons examined in this thesis, Albany's patronage of the visual arts demonstrates an increased self-consciousness in the fashioning and manipulation of his public identity. There are several forces that may have prompted this: a need to demonstrate his power, prestige, and social standing in relation to that of his wife's family, in relation to the Medici household, and in relation to both the Scottish and French courts. His patronage of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, for instance, demonstrates a grand gesture that falls into a long tradition of founding chapels as a means of displaying fragments of the Passion relics inherited from Louis IX.¹⁹⁰ This foundation was a way for Albany not only to give public expression of his piety, but also to encourage important visitors to venerate these relics, and thereby to acknowledge his connection to the French Crown. His careful program of decoration in the chapel stresses primarily the themes of genealogy and kingship, while commemorating his family in the repeated ornamental use of his and his wife's coats of arms.¹⁹¹ The commission, several years after the initial building campaign, of

190 The Sainte-Chapelles with their dates of foundation and founders: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1238, St Louis; Paris, 1248, St Louis; Bourbon-l'Archambault, 1314/15, Louis 1st duc de Bourbon; Gué-de-Maulny, 1329, Philippe VI de Valois; Vivier-en-Brie, 1352, Charles V; Vincennes, 1379, Charles V; Riom, 1382, Jean, duc de Berry; Bourges, 1405, Jean, duc de Berry; Châteaudun, 1451, Jean, Bâtard Orlean; Aigueperse, 1475, Louis de Bourbon; Bourbon-l'Archambault, 1483, Jean II 6th duc de Bourbon; Champigny-sur-Veude, 1498, Louis de Bourbon-Vendome; Vic-le-Comte, c.1520, John Stuart, Duke of Albany.

191 This prestigious foundation was also John Stuart and his wife's funerary chapel. Anne de la Tour was interred here in 1524 and John Stuart in 1536. See note 49. The reredos bearing the virtues becomes significant in this context as

a series of large terracotta apostles figures, attributed to the Florentine artist Giovanni Francesco Rustici, testifies to Albany's important role as one of the earliest patrons in France to commission a large series of sculptural works from an Italian artist (3.62). One might suppose that his taste for such works was influenced by his personal and diplomatic visits, and connections to the Medici household in Florence.¹⁹² His patronage of the impressive stone reredos, which still stands at the head of the chapel, and which may be attributed to a successor of Michel Colombe, is no less impressive, (3.63).¹⁹³

It is, however, Albany's surviving manuscripts that provide the most personal expression of the motives behind his patronage. Both the Paris and the Hague Manuscripts embody visual statements of Albany's perceived personal destiny, and each focusses on glamorising the dual nature of his identity: his Scottish and French descent. Domat's poetic compositions stress Albany's desire to govern Scottish affairs, to effectively conquer England, and also a wish to foster a closer relationship with the papacy. This was an important relationship that was of great benefit to both Scotland and France. The Paris and the Hague Manuscripts are, however, just a small glimpse of Albany's literary patronage. The château at Mirefleur is known to have housed a library of considerable size, which was no doubt largely amassed by earlier counts of Boulogne in the fifteenth century and subsequently inherited, and added to, by Albany in the early-sixteenth century. An inventory of château Mirefleur, composed in 1560 for Catherine de Medici, lists in the region of two hundred and eighty volumes: both printed books and manuscripts. Included within this inventory are a wide variety of religious texts such as the lives of saints, a Bible, and a psalter bearing the 'armes de la maison.'¹⁹⁴ It also lists romances such as the *Roman de la Rose*, and the knights of the Round Table, and furthermore includes such works as a history of Alexander the Great, numerous histories of Troy, and various works by Boccaccio and Ovid.¹⁹⁵ Of particular note are a considerable number of manuscripts described as executed on 'parchemin azuré.'¹⁹⁶ These include a work recounting the destruction of Jerusalem and copy of 'le pèlerin de vye humaine'.¹⁹⁷

Identifying the contribution that Albany made to this collection is not straight forward, however a

this was a popular subject for funerary statuary at this time. See for instance Michel Colombes tomb for Anne of Brittany's parents at Nantes.

192 See note 147-8.

193 The reredos is executed in the style of the successors of Michel Colombe and is likely to have come from a Bourbonnais atelier. The finely carved details of the robes and elaborate head-ware are similar to the work of Jean Guilhomet (Jean de Chartres 1493-1511). See the sculpture of Saint Suzanne, for instance, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. It also bears comparison to the work of Guillaume Regnault, (d.1534) and Guillaume Chaleveau. Baudoin. 1998, 283-285.

194 Paris, BnF, ms. Lat. 18610. Lives of Saints, f.202v, 204r, 204v; Bible, f.201v; Psalter, f.202r.

195 Paris, BnF, ms. Lat. 18610. *Roman de la Rose*, f.202v, 203r, 207v; Knights of the Round Table, f.205r; Alexander the Great, f.205v; Histories of Troy, f.202r, 204v, 205r; Boccaccio, f.202, 206r; Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, f.204v.

196 It is unclear whether this reference always refers to parchment stained blue or whether in some cases it may refer to lines ruled in blue. At least seventeen manuscripts are described in this way.

197 Paris, BnF, ms. Lat. 18610. The Destruction of Jerusalem, f. 202r; *Le pèlerin de vye humaine*, f.202v.

number of entries indicate works relating to Scottish interests, and were therefore most likely obtained by Albany.¹⁹⁸ In the early section of the inventory, in a list of works on paper, is an entry noting a sea chart of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, an object of clear practical value considering the numerous voyages Albany made from France to Scotland, (Appendix 3d). Later on f.207r is an entry which in all likelihood refers to the Paris Manuscript. It reads 'plus a book, written by hand which contains the line of the kings of Scotland,' (Appendix 3e). As this text is described as executed on paper it suggests that the entry refers to the chronicle, rather than the genealogy. A third entry of particular interest is found on f.208r, which lists a parchment manuscript described as written by hand, illuminated, and entitled, 'La cronique descosse' (Appendix 3f). The description is intriguing as it indicates that Albany acquired a second, more lavish, chronicle of Scottish History executed on parchment rather than Domat's hastily penned work on paper. Such evidence lends further weight to the argument that Albany was keenly aware of his Scottish heritage, and interested in furthering his knowledge of Scotland's history. It is clear that Albany understood that the Scottish aspect of his national identity could be used to bolster his social standing, and further his social and political aims in France.

198 Delisle. 1868. I, 212. Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 18610, f.201-221v.

CONCLUSION

The study of the Monypenny, d'Aubigny, and Albany patronage suggests that successful and influential Scots in France, *c.* 1445 to *c.* 1545, used the visual arts to carefully construct, and project their self-image. Artworks, costumes, and buildings were all designed to stress the families' national and social identities, but were also used to project their, taste, learning, piety, charity, and military prowess. There were therefore many different concerns woven into each artistic commission, teasing out the prominent themes enables us to answer the questions posed in the introduction: What were the reasons behind the patronage? Did the families' Scottish heritage have any bearing on the artistic decisions made? Was the choice of artist, medium, or style influenced by fellow Scots in France, or by the French court and French peers? An important part of this analysis must be to consider the audience: How were these works displayed? Who were the intended audience? How was this audience meant to perceive the patron?

The Art of Belonging

The concept of national identity is problematic in relation to the late-medieval period.¹ Yet, in the study of the cultural activity of immigrants, it is unavoidable. Each family in this thesis projected dual visual allegiance in their heraldry, emblems, or mottos: to their Scottish ancestry and to the French Crown.² As outsiders, they sought to visually declare their families' elevated status and permanence in France. Grand building projects, such as the construction of the Aubigny and la Verrerie châteaux by the Stuart d'Aubigny family, and the construction of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte by Albany, sought to provide permanent visual statements to the patron's place as an important regional figure, and as an enduring character in French society. Decorative details, such as the thistles, fleur-de-lis, lions rampant, unicorns, and winged stags, all used by the Stuart d'Aubigny family for instance, serve to heighten the viewer's awareness of the family's alliance to both the royal house of Scotland, and that of France. Part of an extravagant building project's appeal

1 It is clear that 'nationalism' in the sense of a political ideology is a comparatively recent phenomenon, bound to the emergence of the nation state from the late-eighteenth century onwards. Many studies, however, have made a convincing case for the existence of nations and national consciousness from a much earlier period. One of the indicators of increasing consciousness of national identity might be seen in the adoption and manipulation of common ancestral myths and a glorification of ancestry, a point discussed in this section.

2 The Monypenny arms were quartered with a dolphin haurient representing the Dauphin. The d'Aubigny arms are quartered with the royal arms of France and Albany's arms display the royal house of Scotland, the earl of March, lord of the Isle of Man, and lord of Annandale often presented dimidiated with his wife's arms, displaying the de la Tour d'Auvergne arms and those of the counts of Boulogne.

was to encourage important visitors, from within France and abroad, and as such the decorative details employed would always have been intended to be viewed by a much wider audience than just local dignitaries and the family themselves.³ Small decorative details on buildings thus served as badges of loyalty, displaying a family's ancestral allegiances as well as more contemporary bonds.

The priorities of knowledgeable and articulate patrons were reflected in iconography specific to that patron. Images of local saints, of kings, relics, topographical portraits, and particular religious and military orders, may all be read as self-conscious projections of a patron's identity. The unusual inclusion of an image of the martyrdom of Saint-Satur, flanked by the Monypenny arms, charged on an abbatial crozier, clearly indicates the involvement and priorities of Abbot William Monypenny in the commission of the Monypenny Breviary. References to locally revered relics, originally commissioned by the duc de Berry, suggest a relevance which would have been understood by members of the Monypenny family, and to local viewers of the Breviary. Visual references to warfare and military saints, and a particular emphasis placed on Alexander the Great, implicate the Abbot's brother, Alexander Monypenny, perhaps as the intended recipient of the Breviary. The program of iconography in the Monypenny Breviary is complex. It suggests that many of the more subtle references were intended for the family alone. Yet the extraordinarily lavish nature of the work indicates a desire to impress, and suggests that it would have been shown to important guests and acquaintances. Many of the visual details in the Breviary hold a local relevance, and relate specifically to contemporary events. The topographical portrait of Mehun-sur-Yèvre celebrates this famed royal château, built for the duc de Berry, which was frequently included in manuscripts produced in and around Bourges, as a symbol of French national pride, if not more specifically of regional Berrichon pride. The inclusion of the emblems of the duc d'Orléans and his first wife, Jeanne, is however far more unusual and indicates a more specific relevance to the political events of Bourges in the 1480s and 90s. The visual evidence in the Monypenny Breviary is no less compelling in its emphasis of the patron's allegiances than the aforementioned grand building projects, yet it does so in a much more local French context. It stresses a concern for Berrichon politics, monuments, and social and religious institutions, rather than national allegiances. Presumably by this point the Monypenny family felt little need to stress their Scottish heritage.

Other examples examined in this thesis tell quite a different story. The impresa of Bérault Stuart, for instance, indicates that for Bérault his dual national identity was key. The equestrian

³ Both the château at Aubigny and la Verrerie included rooms referred to as 'chambre du roy' suggesting that the Stuart d'Aubigny's hosted royal guests. During François I tour of the Auvergne in 1533 we know that he lodged at Albany's favourite residence, Château Mirefleur.

portrait of Bérault in Ars. ms. 5062 provides visual evidence of Bérault's troops garbed in his emblem of the lion rampant surrounded by fermillet, as it is presented in his impresa. It provides evidence of how Bérault employed his emblem at a very practical level, and the text accompanying the impresa makes clear how these symbols were read by his contemporaries. Together with his motto 'Distantia Jungit', Bérault styled himself as 'the means and the buckle wherewith were held united the king of Scotland and the king of France, in order to make a proper counterweight to the forces of the king of England.'⁴ For Bérault, promoting his Scottishness was as important as displaying his loyalty to the French Crown.⁵ Furthermore, Bérault's interest in his Scottish roots is apparent in the text he had appended, perhaps by the scholar John Ireland, to Warwick's manuscript in the last years of the fifteenth century. Commissioning of a copy of the *Vraie cronique d'Escoce* demonstrates that Bérault sought to acquaint himself with Scotland's heroic past, and arm himself with useful diplomatic material. During the late-medieval period, the Scots, as other nations, sought to justify their ruling dynasty by means of an intensive search for justification in the past. Origin myths were researched and refined to provide a continuity of lineage from distant noble predecessors. Chronicles were one method by which such propaganda could be circulated. For Bérault, the Scots' noble descent from Greco-Egyptian blood trumped the claims of Trojan descent of both the French and the English.⁶

Similarly, the visual patronage of Albany demonstrates very clearly his desire to acquaint himself with Scotland's pantheon of venerable ancestors. For Albany, this served a dual purpose: as crucial diplomatic material required for his role as governor of Scotland, and as evidence to bolster his social standing and prestige in France, particularly in view of the ancient and noble lineage of his wife's family. The illuminated genealogy in the Paris Manuscript is a unique visual record of the Scots' understanding of their mythical genealogical past in the early-sixteenth century, there is little comparable surviving in Scotland from this period. It demonstrates how Albany would have understood his place in the great scheme of Scottish heroes and heroines, following Kenneth MacAlpin, Saint Margaret, and Robert the Bruce. The genealogy demonstrates with great clarity the ancient origins of the *Auld Alliance*, and even illustrates an ancient bond between the royal house of Scotland and the counts of Boulogne: a bond renewed with Albany's marriage to Anne de la Tour. For Albany, of course, his very title referencing *Albion* may have encouraged his desire to acquaint

4 Distantia Jungit, meaning 'he unites things distant' or 'in unity though distant'. Paolo Giovio, *Impresa of Bérault Stuart*. Dialogo dell'impres... Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, SM 517, 92. 1559.

5 Despite the fact that Bérault, just like Abbot William and Alexander Monypenny, was born in France.

6 The Greeks were victorious over the Trojans. According to the author of the *Liber Pluscardensis* the progenitors of the Scottish race were a Greek prince, Galahel and the eponymous Scota, daughter of a Pharaoh, whom Galahel married c. 1500 BC, shortly before Moses delivered the children of Israel out of Egypt.

himself with the origin-myths of the British Isles.⁷

Such ancestor-worship surfaces repeatedly in this study. It almost certainly played a part in the now obscure program for the portrait medallions adorning the ceiling of the chapel at la Verrerie, commissioned by Robert Stuart c. 1517-30. Here Robert's own portrait, surrounded by fermillet, is positioned facing a portrait of the French king, surrounded by fleur-de-lis. Other portrait roundels suggest family members, ancient heroes, and an image of a member of the royal Stuart house of Scotland. The decorative program is interspersed with images of lilies and thistles, emphasising the dual loyalty of the Aubigny family to Scotland and France. The formal scheme of decoration borrows classical motifs, evoking notions of triumph and victory. The Stuart d'Aubigny's lineage is thus presented in terms of noble warriors, with undertones of an ancient classical past. The strong desire to assert national identity was tightly bound to the concepts of military prowess, chivalry, and reputation. The great figures included in Albany's illustrated genealogy are commemorated as military heroes, lauded for physical prowess, and knightly accomplishments. By associating the Stuart d'Aubigny's lineage with heroes of the classical past such iconography evoked notions of the crusading ideal. This was a technique which had already been employed at the Scottish court by the poet, William Dunbar, who in 1508 addressed Bérault as *Father of war*, and compared him to a whole pantheon of ancient warriors including Achilles, Hector, Arthur, Agamemnon, Hannibal and Julius Caesar.

A prominent aspect of the patronage examined in this thesis was thus an assertion of national and social identity. The visual arts were a means by which a patron could communicate his loyalty to Crown and country, but also by which he could reinforce his family's status, permanence, and sense of belonging.

Art and Diplomacy

Closely related to the promotion of a patron's national identity through his patronage of the visual arts, was the role played by diplomacy in broadening the audience for those works. Diplomatic ceremonials provided one of the best occasions for a patron to use art to convey their social identity. By their very nature, such events forced a self-conscious examination of one's image and reputation. In 1515, when Francis I made his state entry into Paris, accounts suggest that Albany made quite a visual impression. It was recorded that he wore apparel of silver-brocaded white satin, decorated with bird's wings wrought in silver gilt which appeared to flutter as he moved. This was trimmed with gold cord, knotted at intervals, and embroidered in golden thread;

⁷ The name for Scotland in Celtic languages was based on Albion: Alba in Scottish Gaelic. The dukedom of Albany was first granted in 1398 by King Robert III of Scotland to his brother, Robert Stewart. 'Albany' was a broad territorial term representing the parts of Scotland north of the River Forth.

bearing his motto, 'SUB UMBRA ALARUM TUARUM'. As strictly hierarchical occasions, state entry ceremonies were an opportunity to display one's proximity to the king and exercise a degree of self-fashioning. They could be viewed as a visual advertisement of a patron's status. On Bérault's final trip to Scotland, it was recorded that he passed through England and attended a service at St Paul's on the feast of the Annunciation. Visual status-symbols, such as his collar of the Order of St Michael, and his richly caparisoned horse, were deemed most worthy of comment.

A fundamental facet of diplomacy was the ritual of gift-giving, which provided an opportunity to impress, influence, and forge bonds between individuals, households, communities, and nations. Diplomacy was a fundamental factor in each of the three studies addressed in this thesis. Sir William Monypenny was rewarded for his services at Rouen in 1471 with a '*Livre de Boccasse... en parchemin, ystorié et enluminé,*' indicating that he received an expensive, illuminated manuscript of one of Boccaccio's texts. Furthermore, in 1467 Monypenny received an unspecified gift from Edward IV 'in reward for his attendance.' Bérault received a gift in 1501 from Pope Alexander VI of a '*coursier griz, bien puissant, moult viste, et tres leger a la main, aveques les bardes tant riches et belles que chascun en fist spectacle de merveilles*'. Furthermore, numerous gifts of horses and hounds appear to have passed between Bérault and James IV, and this was a tradition that was continued after his death in 1508 by his successor Robert. As well as receiving gifts as rewards for their diplomatic services, the subjects of this work commissioned gifts with which to forge their own bonds of allegiance. Robert Stuart commissioned copies of Bérault's treatise on war, most likely to present to noblemen and courtiers in his sphere of influence. Albany commissioned a variety of small gold medals c.1524, bearing his arms, emblem, and motto, and emphasising his status of governor of Scotland. The quantity of these items, recorded in an inventory taken after his death, suggests that he commissioned a large number of them to distribute to nobles and dignitaries to advertise his status and curry favour. Later in his career, Albany, keen to strengthen his ties to the papacy, appears to have commissioned a copy of part of the Hague Manuscript, with which to present Pope Clement VII. The inclusion in this manuscript of full-page displays of Albany and his wife's, arms, emblem, and motto next to a portrait and the arms, emblems, and motto of Clement VII, demonstrates Albany's intention of tightening this bond. A second copy of this manuscript appears to have been presented to the la Guesle family, seigneurs de Busséol, as a means of strengthening a more local alliance. Albany, who appears to have been rather adept in matters of diplomacy, was ever careful to maintain his close relationship to the French king. This is exemplified in the extensive negotiations and preparations that surrounded François I's tour of the Auvergne in 1533, for which the towns in Albany's territories spent a great deal of time and effort preparing pageants and entertainments. In this instance, the townspeople of Montferrand engaged,

perhaps on the instructions of Albany, the local goldsmith, Michael Armand, to craft a cup of gold as a gift for the king.

An individual may be seen to be embodied and revealed by the objects he commissioned. The commissioning of portraiture may therefore be considered key in understanding a patron's self-image. Portraits might be said to have been used as mediators between self and society and were a vital tool for self-fashioning. Bérault Stuart was represented as every inch the loyal Frenchman in his portrait medal presented after the successful campaign in Italy in 1494. As a medal, this image of Bérault was executed in a form which could easily be distributed and replicated. It styled Bérault as a noble knight of the Order of St Michael, and a loyal servant of the French king. In Bérault's equestrian portrait in *Ars. ms. 5062*, he is, however, consciously cast as a conquering hero of foreign territory, while displaying his dual allegiance to both Scotland and France. This more personal commission no doubt tells us more about how Bérault wished to project his own self-image. Amassing collections of portraits was another way a patron could display family ties and allegiances. In the lists of paintings found at la Verrerie in 1544, there are a number of interesting portraits which may have been obtained by the Stuart d'Aubigny family as diplomatic gifts. The small portraits of the king of France and of Scotland, each kept in individual boxes, give the impression of compact, portable objects suitable as diplomatic gifts, perhaps obtained by Robert for his distinguished service. Other paintings, such as portraits of the popes, Julius II and Leo X, were probably acquired either as diplomatic gifts or as 'souvenirs' by Robert while he was in Italy. Similarly, the portrait of Pope Alexander VI, included in the final illumination of the Monypenny Breviary, was perhaps based on a likeness obtained by a member of the Monypenny family while engaged in diplomatic business in Rome.

An integral part of diplomatic visits was the showcasing of important monuments, buildings, relics, and works of art. The portraits of Albany and his wife on the central window of his Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte were no doubt viewed by many of Albany's distinguished guests. Kneeling in prayer at the foot of the Tree of Jesse, the portraits present Albany and his wife in a scheme of decoration that stressed the themes of kingship and genealogy. It highlighted the couple as direct descendants of Louis IX, and thus the legitimate heirs to a thorn from the Crown of Thorns. The founding of the Sainte-Chapelle to house this important relic was in itself a gesture of patronage, which placed Albany in a very elite French tradition following such great patrons as the duc de Berry and Charles V. With this foundation came great prestige, and it demonstrated that Albany could more than match the patronage of the previous counts of Boulogne and Auvergne, who were themselves recognised for important gestures in this field.

Albany's commission of expensive and impressive building projects, and other visual

statements, were carefully calculated to demonstrate that he could live up to his French predecessors and were also used as a means of displaying his French status to visiting dignitaries. His impressive collections of relics and artworks all served as powerful status symbols, emphasising his piety, but also his place in the French aristocratic hierarchy. Diplomacy and the exchange of gifts were employed by Albany, and the other subjects of this work, as a means of impressing acquaintances, cementing bonds, and establishing status and image.

Patterns of Consumption

Commissioning a work like the Monypenny Breviary would have been an extremely expensive enterprise. Both in size and in quality, it is one of the most lavish works of illumination to survive from France during this period. Great thought went into its textual and visual program, including considerable personal input from the patrons themselves. The decision to engage the Montluçon atelier would not therefore have been undertaken lightly. The execution of Bérault's copy of *Le livre du gouvernement des princes* by the neighbouring Colombe atelier suggests that the Scottish community in and around Bourges perhaps formed something of a distinct client base for these connected ateliers. There can be little doubt that in this close-knit community, the Monypenny Breviary would have been admired by other prominent Scots such as the Stuart d'Aubigny family. Yet in each case, influence also seems to have come from their French peers, and particularly from the great literary patron and bibliophile, Louis de Laval, who commissioned a number of extremely lavish works also from the Colombe atelier. The artistic tastes of the subjects of this thesis were likely therefore to have been influenced as much by their French peers as by their fellow Scots.

Even in a very local commission such as the Monypenny Breviary there is evidence of ideas and imagery originating from further afield, perhaps reflecting something of the patron's activities abroad. The portrait of Pope Alexander VI, as already mentioned, perhaps derived from material obtained in Italy by the Monypenny family. Equally, the inclusion in the calendar pages of a copy of the *Mantegna Tarrochi* may also have been executed at the direct instructions of the patron. With diplomatic and military expeditions therefore came exposure to, and influence from, new forms and styles of visual culture which were then reflected in patronage.

The style of Robert Stuart's architectural additions to the château de la Verrerie, such as the colonnaded gallery, and the decorative medallions ornamenting it, suggests influence from Italian sources. Equally, the painted portrait medallions, supported by putti, that ornament the la Verrerie chapel suggest influence from the work of Italian artists such as Mantegna. While this interest in Italian decorative forms is in keeping with similar trends in the commissions of Robert's peers, such

as Florimond Robertet, and the d'Amboise family, it nevertheless provides further evidence for the spread of artistic ideas from Italy to France during the time of the French campaigns. Furthermore, it suggests that Franco-Scots may have played an important role in this transmission of ideas.

Evidence provided by the inventory taken of the Stuart d'Aubignys' possessions in 1544 attests to their interest in the visual culture of places they visited. It lists fabrics, costumes, and coffers from Italy, or made in the Italian fashion, as well as items acquired in Spain. The château was also richly adorned with expensive Flemish tapestries, and contained a collection of portraits of the dukes of Burgundy, perhaps obtained directly from Flanders by Robert during his employment there.

The patronage of Albany, however, provides the clearest evidence of changing tastes and attitudes to artistic patronage in France during the early-sixteenth century. Albany's interest in Italian visual culture was no doubt encouraged and influenced by his family ties, and the diplomatic negotiations he held, with the Florentine Medici household. The Medici were particularly influential and important artistic patrons in Italy during this period, so it is unsurprising that Albany was influenced by his contact with this family. While the fabric of the building of his Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte is in keeping with the French tradition, the interior decoration testifies to his interest in Florentine art. The impressive stone reredos commissioned by Albany for his chapel, while being the work of French sculptors, demonstrates a new interest in Italian aesthetics.⁸ The twelve sculpted terracotta figures of apostles, which still line the inner walls of the building, have been shown to have been transported from Paris to the Auvergne in 1529. Leproux has convincingly identified these figures with the work of the Florentine artist, Giovanni Francesco Rustici, who had recently moved to Paris to undertake work for François I.⁹ Albany may, therefore, be said to have been an early proponent of Florentine art in France, and played an important role in what was to become a significant shift in French courtly aesthetics under François I's reign.¹⁰

Overall, the case studies examined in this work illustrate a general shift in artistic patronage in France that took place over the second-half of the fifteenth and the first-half of the sixteenth centuries. This changing attitude to display and consumption is typified in the contrasting approaches to visual patronage of Bérault and Robert Stuart d'Aubigny. For Bérault, his contribution to building projects and his literary work, exemplified in his treatise on war, were effectively practical and functional in character. There is little indication that Bérault was concerned with making lavish and expensive visual statements. His treatise on war focusses on very practical matters regarding supplies, ammunition, and tactics, and his patronage of manuscripts suggests that

⁸ Baudoin, 1998, 283-5.

⁹ Leproux, 2004, 75-91. For Rustici see: Vasari. 1900, vol 7, 111-127; Avery, 1970, 149-53; Butterfield & Franklin, 1998, 819-824; Sénéchal, 2007; Mozzati, 2008.

¹⁰ Lecoq, 1987; Arminjon, 2004.

his interests lay securely in matters of warfare, statecraft, and diplomacy. His patronage therefore was very much in line with, and in the service of, his military career. The visual patronage of Robert is, however, more extravagant and courtly in style. The accounts of woven and embroidered armorial hangings and furnishings, the extraordinary bejewelled embroidered portrait, the sculpted ornamental embellishments to his building projects, and the lavishly painted interior decorations all tell of a much grander and more opulent approach to visual patronage. Robert clearly felt that such magnificence was only fitting for a *maréchal* of France, and he perhaps also recognised the benefits and possibilities in projecting a powerful, wealthy, and successful image to his peers and acquaintances through status-symbols. Robert's more flamboyant approach to visual patronage was in keeping with similar developments we find in his French peers, which stemmed in turn from the more showy aspects of French courtly culture that emerged under the reign of François I.

Artist-Patron Relations

The period covered by this study encompasses a time of interesting developments in the relationship between the patron and the artist. Works of art materialised with the meeting of two forces: the instructions and expectations of the patron, and the skill and imagination of the artist. Often this was a business-like arrangement: the patron expressed his wishes, and the artist endeavoured to meet them, in a specified time-frame and for an agreed fee. In a number of the works examined in this study, the involvement of the patron appears, however, to have been more significant than this simple arrangement would suggest. The relationship between the artist and patron also appears to have been less formal, encouraging the artist to visually express his authorship. It is likely in such cases that this was not merely tolerated by the patron, but was actively appreciated and valued.

Towards the end of the Monypenny Breviary, for instance, in an illumination depicting an army of military martyr saints, the careful viewer may decipher the signature '*DEMOLISON*'. The signature is subtly incorporated into a nonsensical arrangement of letters decorating the hem of the robe of St James the Less. It is not visually paraded, but is included to reward the diligent viewer who looks carefully at the image and examines its smallest details. The placement of the signature imparts further information. Its positioning on St James the Less shows that it should be read as the signature of Jacqueline de Montluçon, an interpretation that is confirmed by stylistic analysis, and the placement of the signature on an illumination of military martyr saints appears to stress a connection to Alexander Monypenny, a knight and diplomat, rather than to his ecclesiastical brother. The inclusion of this statement of authorship is thus both a stamp of pride on the artist's behalf, but

also a teasing game between artist and patron. It is a detail which the artist was aware would provide amusement for the viewer, and which the patron no doubt appreciated as imparting greater personal value to the work of art as a whole. In the case of the Monypenny Breviary, it seems likely that the patron's involvement was significant. The complex theological program, dealing with spiritual sight and blindness, may have been composed at the request of Abbot William Monypenny himself, or perhaps through the employment of an intermediary, as was the case in the *Hours of Louis de Laval*.¹¹ Although a lack of documentation means that reconstructing the Monypenny-Montluçon relationship is problematic, surviving accounts do testify to the participation of the Montluçon atelier in providing decorative accessories for the Corpus Christi processions in Bourges.¹² This may have been one avenue through which Abbot William Monypenny became familiar with their work.

Other studies in this work that tell us something about the relationship between the patron and the artist include Bérault's hastily penned note of ownership added to his copy of the *Vraie cronique d'Escoce*. The note not only recorded that a member of the Stuart d'Aubigny family commissioned the work, but also that they considered recording the name of the author of importance: '*Ce lyvre me bailla monsr d'Aubegny, et fut fet par ung grant clerc escosois nomme Irlandia nory a Paris lonc tamps*.' This addition testifies to Bérault's pride in owning Warwick's beautifully illuminated copy of the *Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, as well as his pride in the appended text which he declares to be the work of the renowned Scottish theologian and diplomat, John Ireland, a resident of Paris for much of his career.¹³

The clearest evidence of a close and prolonged patron-artist relationship is found in the case of Albany and Domat. Throughout the Paris Manuscript, Domat repeatedly included both his initials and his surname in the decorative embellishments. Furthermore, on the opening pages, Domat included a poem under which he stated that he was the author and translator of this work. In the prologue, he then addressed the work to Albany stating that he, Bremond Domat, his very humble servant, had made this work in humble reverence. In the Hague Manuscript, Domat again repeatedly included his initials, and possibly a self-portrait. This repeated visual and textual evidence of Domat's pride in his work suggests that he was on close terms with his patron, and knew that such declarations would be understood and appreciated. Given Albany's enthusiasm for the visual arts, it seems likely that he actively encouraged this self-confidence in his employee. Evidence that Domat acted as Albany's *arbiter elegantiarum*, for the ceremonial entertainments enacted in Clermont and Montferrand in 1533, suggests that Domat was Albany's right-hand-man in

11 Louis de Laval's chaplain, Sebastian Mamerot, may have overseen this work.

12 Girardot, 1961, 238; Ulysse, 1880-1, II, 304-6; Ribault, 1967, 313-22; Put, 1922, 72-114.

13 Daly, 1991; Burns, 1990, 151-81.

matters concerning visual culture. Evidence that Domat lived in a grand building, just yards from Albany's main residence, supports the idea that Domat was effectively a member of Albany's entourage. In this case, the artist-patron relationship had shifted, from maker and consumer, to a closer arrangement of lord and his advisor, in which the artist felt comfortable in asserting his identity and ensuring that his name was commemorated by posterity alongside that of his patron. Such a shift in attitude was indicative of a general shift in the status of the artist from artisan to courtier. Thanks to enlightened patrons like Albany, artists like Domat were freed from earlier more medieval restrictions that governed their artistic output, and could forge a career as much as trusted courtier as craftsman. Domat's possible self-portrait in the Paris Manuscript, clothed in sumptuous robes, encourages this reading of his social status.

Posthumous Reputations

For both the Stuart d'Aubignys' and Albany, a key concern evident in their visual patronage was the desire to produce an heir. In both cases this desire remained unfulfilled. Robert Stuart's chapel at la Verrerie was consecrated under the invocation of the Annunciation of the Virgin in 1509. The decoration executed some years later stresses the theme of the Annunciation in a sculpted tableau and a painted vase of lilies. In both of his marriages Robert failed to produce an heir to secure the family line, encouraging him to adopt his grand-nephews from Scotland.¹⁴ In the case of Albany, his foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle, and its visual stress on lineage and genealogy, suggest that the continuity of his family line was a strong, yet ultimately unresolved, preoccupation. His young wife died in 1524, before he could return to her from Scotland, and he never re-married.¹⁵

Each family in this thesis appears to have reached its social and economic peak during the period examined. With this, came the peak in their activities as patrons of the visual arts. In the years that followed, none of these families appear to have maintained the same level of wealth, social standing, and prestige. In the case of the Monypennys, Alexander is known to have had three children. The eldest, Charles, died in combat in 1495. Louis, Lord of Varene, left no issue. Anne Monypenny married three times, yet no posterity can be attributed. It is not clear when the lands of Concessault left the hands of the Monypennys, but soon afterwards the grand château appears to have fallen into decay, its masonry used to build and repair other buildings in the village.

¹⁴ In 1527 Robert Stuart took custody of his great-nephews Matthew and John Stewart, the sons of John Stewart, twelfth earl of Lennox, who were sent to France after their father was killed in 1526.

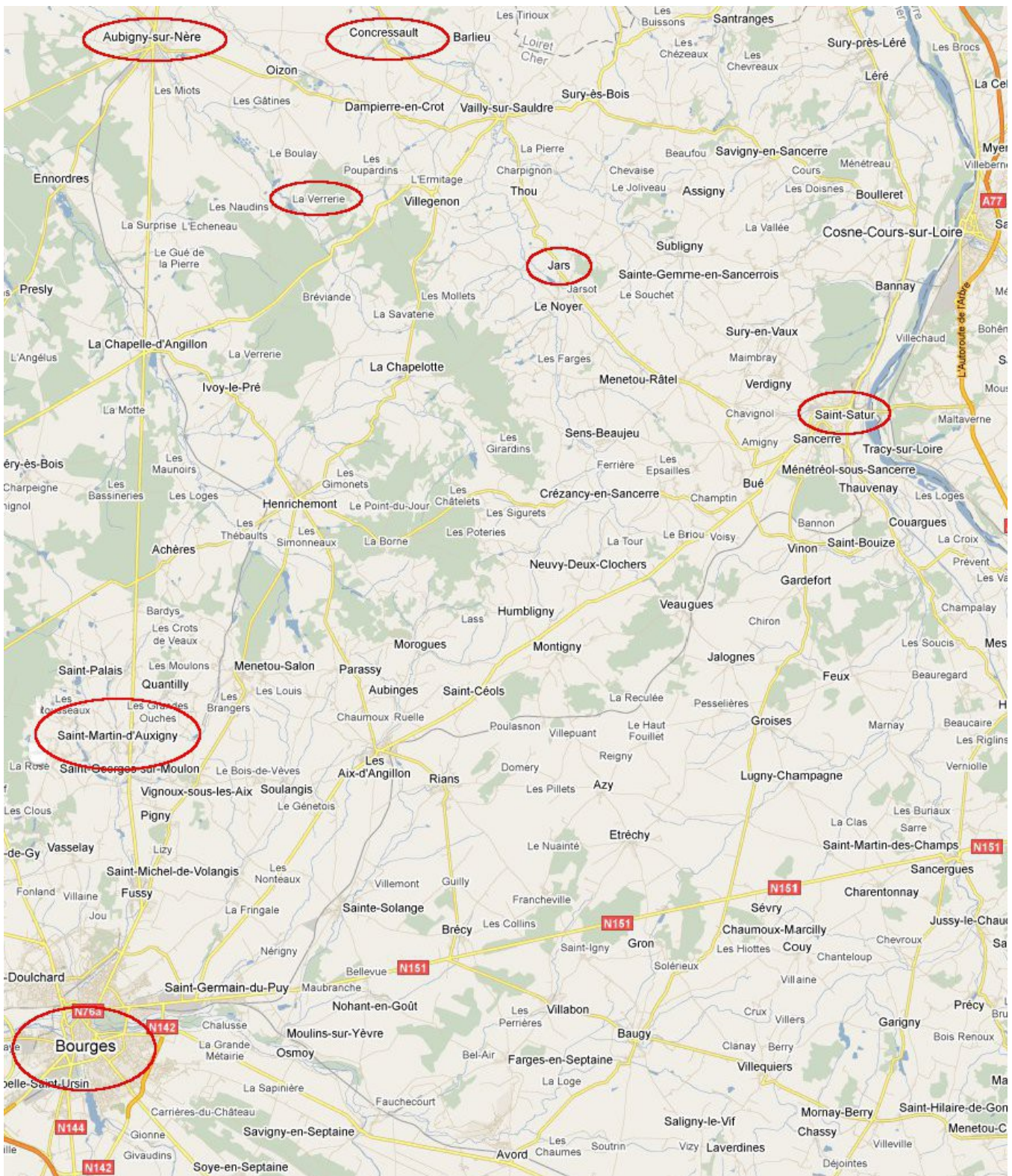
¹⁵ Albany appears to have had an affair during his time in Scotland with Jean Abernethy, who bore him a daughter who later travelled to France.

After Robert Stuart d'Aubigny's death, he was succeeded by his great nephew John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Lennox. Having hitherto maintained an honourable position in France, the Stuart d'Aubigny family fell into grave disrepute. John Stuart's brother, Matthew, was found guilty of defecting to Henry VIII in 1544. The French king, not able to reach Matthew himself, who was in Scotland at the time, avenged himself by imprisoning John Stuart in the Bastille and confiscating all his lands and properties.¹⁶ The family would never fully recover from this blow. In the case of Albany, with no legitimate heir, his title reverted to Scotland, where James V bestowed it upon his second wife's son. His rich estates and belongings were bestowed, by order of the French king, on his niece, Catherine de Medici, thus securing them to the French Crown.

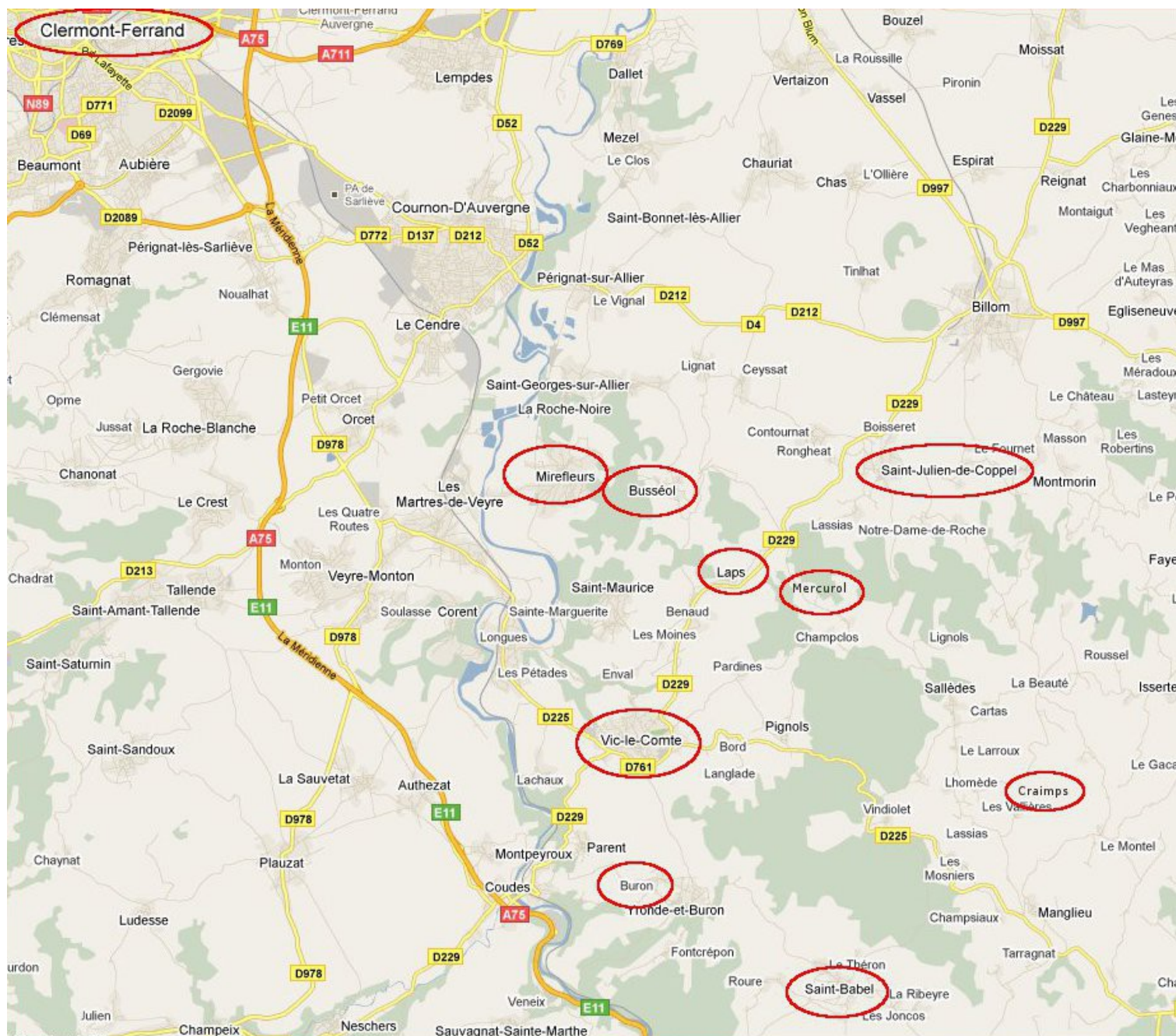
In line with the fortunes of France during the period c.1445-1545, these three families of Scottish descent rose to positions of considerable power, fortune, and influence. This prestige was reflected in their patronage of the visual arts, the study of which tells us a great deal about the figures themselves, their priorities, and their ideals. The figures studied, and their patronage, thus provide a fascinating glimpse into a period when Franco-Scottish warriors, like Bérault Stuart, really did consider themselves the buckle that held united the kingdom of Scotland and the kingdom of France.

¹⁶ Hence the inventories of 1544. Bonner, 2011.

MAP 1

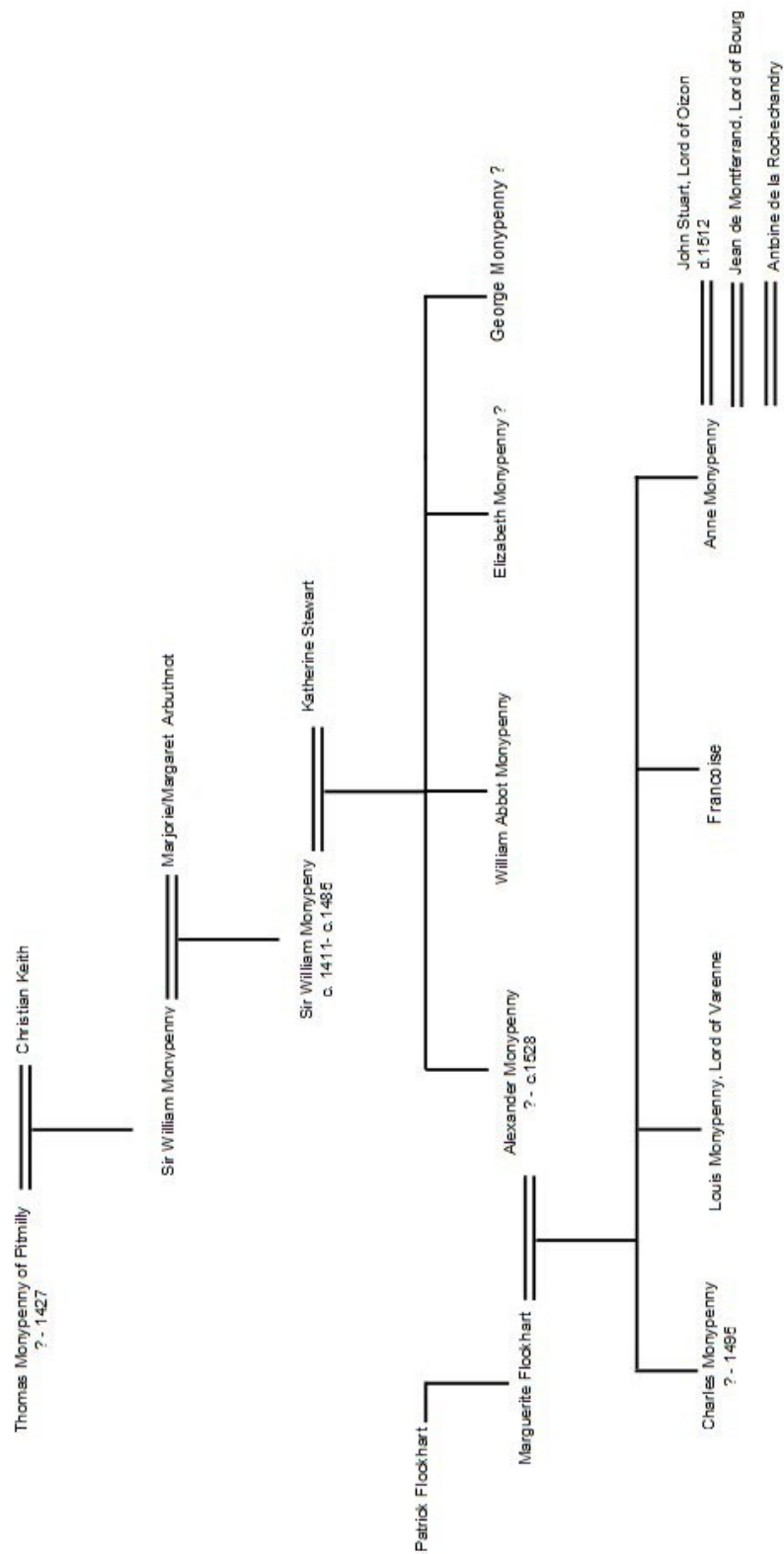


Map 1: Berry, central France. Showing the relative locations of Aubigny-sur-Nère, Bourges, Concressault, Jars, La Verrerie, Saint-Satur and Saint-Martin-d'Auxigny



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Appendix 1a- The Monypenny Family Tree



Appendix 1b - List of Miniatures in the Monypenny Breviary

Important iconographic details are highlighted in red.

Calendar

f. 1r: *Januarius*. (a) A man at a table being served a dish; a nude figure pouring water from a gold vase, [Aquarius]. (b) **SOL FETO**: The sun upheld by Helios (pink), as a charioteer, with a team of one white and one black horse. Falling through the air is Phaeton, son of Helios. **VENVS** bathing with her companion nymphs as Cupid stands blindfolded with a bow. (c) The Almighty on a throne surrounded by ranks of cherubim and seraphim.

f. 1v: *Februarius*. (a) Man seated warming himself at a fire; two fish swimming, [Pisces]. (b) **MERCVRIVS** (purple), in winged cap and sandals, playing a flute, holding a caduceus, with a cock and Argus' head at his feet; **LUNA** (red), a woman in a chariot drawn by a black and a white horse, upholding the moon. (c) Expulsion of the bad angels from heaven by Archangel Michael.

f. 2r: *Marcus*. (a) Man pruning vines; ram, [Aries]. (b) **SASTVRNVS** (*sic*) (blue, with red mantle), a bearded man grasping winged dragon on a sickle and a babe, children play at his feet; **IVPITER** (blue, lilac mantle), within a vesica, crowned, holding arrow; eagle above, Ganymede and dead Titans below. (c) God creating the earth; God separating night and day.

f. 2v: *Aprilis*. (a) Man holding flowering spray in each hand; bull pawing the ground, [Taurus]. (b) **MAROIVS** in black armour, enthroned, with dog at his feet; **TEMPRENTIA** (blue, with pink mantle), holding two jugs: pig (?) looking in a mirror at her feet. (c) God creating the animals.

f. 3r: *Mayus*. (a) Man and woman on a horse; man and woman embracing in a thicket, [Gemini]. (b) **PRVDENTIA** (red, with green mantle), the back of her head is a man's mask, holding statue with blue mirror, dragon at her feet; **FORTITAS** (black breastplate, red skirt, and green mantle), with lion's head-hood, snapping a column in half, a lion below. (c) God, with arm outstretched towards three angels who mould Adam's body out of clay.

f. 3v: *Junius*. (a) Two men with scythes; crab flexing pincers, [Cancer]. (b) **IVSTICIA** (red, with blue mantle) with sword and balance, and crane holding a stone at her feet; **CARITAS** (pink, with blue mantle), touches her burning heart with one hand and pours coins from a bag with other over a pelican in her piety. (c) The Trinity (three Persons enthroned, issuing at the waist from one garment), Adam kneeling, angels behind.

f. 4r: *Jullius*. (a) Two men reaping; lion, [Leo]. (b) **SPES** (green, with pink mantle), gazing hopefully at the sky with hands in prayer, with phoenix at his feet; **FIDES** (blue, with red mantle), holding chalice and Eucharist in right hand, a dog at her feet. (c) God crowns the kneeling Adam. At the top outer angle of the border are **the Monypenny arms (x 1) supported by a cupid**.

f. 4v: *Augustus*. (a) Man and woman threshing; woman with palm [Virgo]. (b) **GRAMATICA** (pink, with purple mantle), holding two-handled vase in left hand, an incomplete rasp in right; **LOGICA** (green, with red mantle), a dragon covered with a white veil with red flowers is perched on her left wrist and stares intently at her. (c) The creation of Eve from Adams rib. At top outer angle **the Monypenny arms (x 1) supported by a cupid**.

f. 5r: *September* (a) Man and woman at wine press; nude figure holding balance [Libra]. (b) **RETORICA** (black helmet and breastplate, blue skirt, and red mantle,) with sword and two angels with trumpets; **GEOMETRICA** (red, with blue mantle), a woman standing to the knees in cloud, drawing a rectangle, a triangle, and a diamond in the sky. (c) God pointing out the forbidden fruit on the tree of knowledge to Adam and Eve.

f. 5v: *October* (a) The acorn harvest; a scorpion [Scorpius]. (b) **ARESMETICHA** (*sic*) (red, white veil), her head irradiated, is counting coins; **MVSICA** (blue), is seated on swan, playing pipe, instruments are scattered in the foreground. (c) Satan with all his devils in hell.

f. 6r: *November* (a) Man killings a boar: centaur [Sagittarius]. (b) **POETICA** (blue, red mantle), seated at fountain playing pipe, with a garland of flowers on her head and pouring water from a jug; **PHILOSOPHIA** (pale blue, black breastplate), holding spear and dark blue chamfron shield. (c) Adam and Eve, and the serpent (human-headed), in the tree.

f. 6v: *December* (a) A baker putting loaf into oven; goat issuing from shell [Capricornus]. (b) **ASTROLOGIA** (lilac, red mantle), with blue wings, book, and staff. A delicate crown of stars on her head; **THEOLOGIA** (red, blue mantle), with male mask at back of head, rising from starry sphere. (c) The expulsion from Eden.

End of Calendar

f. 7. Full page miniature of the Crucifixion. '**PASSIO DOMINI NOSTRI IHESV XPIRSTI**' (*sic*). The three crosses are set on a hill with a clear but distant view of Jerusalem behind. A crowd of soldiers in renaissance armour carry pennants and spears and watch the scene unfolding. One soldier points to the heavens as he speaks to the others, another to his right prays. In the foreground Pilate, accompanied by Jewish priests watch the blood drip down the crosses as the Virgin swoons into the arms of St. John and Mary Magdalene. **Longinus, holding a long spear, touches his finger to his eye.** Bones are strewn at their feet.

f. 8. (a) St Paul pointing at a **vision of Christ** in the sky and calling on the Romans to awaken from their sleep (Romans xiii.11). (b) Moses, Aaron and the elders of Israel. Architectural frame with flowers and **cockleshells**.

f. 18. (a) Death-bed scene, **vision of the soul borne up by angels**. His family and friends grieve at his bedside. A man in contemporary dress places a lighted taper in the dead man's hands. Christ (as the Man of Sorrows) displays his wounds to the viewer and a small demon looks towards Christ acknowledging his defeat. (b) Aged king in bed (David), visited by a woman (Bathsheba), and a priest (Nathan). A finely dressed figure (Solomon) gestures towards the king. (1 Kings i. 15 *et seq.*). Architectural frame with prophets, angels and **two hunting leopard's** at the base of either column.

f. 24v. (a) A man is depicted in half length, in a greyish-brown doublet, clean shaven, with short grey hair, kneeling at an altar in a chapel interior (**Sir William Monypenny ?**). Above the altar, **a vision of Christ as Man of Sorrows** appears, surrounded by a mandorla of angels framed by blue clouds. The altar has a frontal and a linen cloth embroidered with blue crosses. Upon it stand two golden candlesticks with lighted candles. (b) A man with longer fair hair, his hat hanging upon his back, is kneeling praying towards an altar, a woman clad in a long-sleeved corset, and two children, faces an **open chest of coins** (**Alexander Monypenny and family ?**). They are situated in a chapel with two altars. The male figure has his back to a door, outside which a herdsman is seen rapping on the door with a stick, surrounded by his animals. Architectural frame with two men in fur hats. **Two black dogs are sleeping below.** Border decorated with blue angels.

f. 37. (a) Within a renaissance interior the Tiburtine Sibyl, wearing an elaborate blue turban, and a finely dressed councillor point out **a vision of the Virgin and Child to Augustus**, who is richly dressed and is swinging a censer. Two men also observe the vision in the background. (b) A Sibyl (Persica ?), with two groups of disputants. An architectural border with figures in armour and two white deer-hounds with red collars. The border is decorated with **joined pairs of wings and rosary beads**.

f. 56v. (a) St John the Evangelist in a cobbled square in Ephesus, depicted as a contemporary town with half timbered buildings. He holds an ink-horn and penner in his right hand as he has stops Drusiana's funeral procession and brings her back to life. She sits bemused on the ground as a man tries to loosen her winding-sheet and mourners kneel gratefully in prayer. (b) St John praying in an open grave, a crowd watch on (Golden Legend). An Architectural frame with four knight in armour. Eagles below and blue angels decorate the border.

f. 97. (a) **The Marriage at Cana**. Christ, the Virgin, a king (?) and a queen are seated at a long table covered with a white cloth where they are taking part in a wedding feast, served by three young men in tunics, who with the apostles, exclaim over the water that has been turned into wine. (b) A saint (Paul ?) hands an epistle to three followers. Architectural frame with four figures with arms folded. **Porcupines** below.

f. 130v. (a) Noah directing pairs of animals up a gangway onto the ark: camels, lions, goats, sheep, deer, cows donkeys, boar and unicorns. Noah's sons assist the animals onto the ark. Two upper levels in the ark show through open windows the female members of their family and various birds on the upper most level. (b) Christ preaching from masted boat, to a crowd on the shore. Architectural frame with angels. Border decorated with angels.

f. 136v. (a) Christ, attended by the Apostles, **blessing a blind man** seated on the ground. A crowd of observers in elaborate hats are watching from a distance. In the background the gate, walls, and towers of the castle of **Mehun-sur-Yevre**. (b) The sacrifice of Abraham. Architectural frame with two figures in similar hats to those of the observers. **Porcupines** below. Angels in border.

f. 145. (a) Christ standing on a rocky hill, with a distant view of a walled town, with an elaborate Gothic tower being tempted by Satan, who has clawed feet, hairy limbs, and a man's face. Satan gestures toward stones at his feet tempting Christ to turn them into bread. (b) The confusion of tongues: God appears to a group of workmen who are morosely grouped around a half-built tower. Architectural border with soldiers, angels. Lions below.

f. 156v. (a) Jacob obtains the blessing of **Isaac** (who is **blind**), who stands in a vaulted hall with jewelled columns, bas-reliefs and text inscribed cornices. Rebecca is taking a blue cloak from a chest. (b) Esau on horseback pursuing a stag. Architectural border with prophets and angels.

f. 165. (a) Joseph sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites. Ishmaelites counting out **gold coins** for the captive Joseph on the rim of the well down which they are about to throw him. (b) Reuben gazing down a well. Architectural frame with soldiers, blue angels. **Collared Genets**.

f. 174. (a) Aaron and Moses stand in the foreground of the composition. A large group watch in amazement as Aaron's rod changes into a serpent before Pharaoh, who is seated under a green canopy. An inscription running around the hall interior identifies '**FARAON REX**.' (b) Pharaoh and his army drowned in the Red Sea which closes on Moses' command. Architectural border with soldiers and green angels.

f. 183. (a) Christ in the temple. A crowd has gathered around him, some with stones in their hands. A golden idol stands on an altar at the back of the interior, one of the foreground figures gazes up at it. (b) A bearded man in a landscape; issuing from his mouth, on a scroll: 'A. A. A. DOMINE • DE(US) • NESICIO • LOQVI.' An angel in the air holds a scroll inscribed: 'PRIN(sic)SQVA • FORMARE • IN • VTERO • NOVI • TE' (Jeremiah 1. 5). Architectural border with soldiers and Putti seated below.

f. 193. (a) Christ, riding an ass, approaches Jerusalem. The apostles follow him and an infant donkey follows its mother. The crowd greets him, some in prayer. A man lays down his cloak in front of Christ and two children throw down leaves from the tree above. (b) Two disciples leading an ass and its colt over a drawbridge from a city. Architectural border with praying men and red angels. **A blank shield** in the framework between the miniatures. Two cupids below playing with a ball.

f. 267v. (a) **A Corpus Christi procession**. The monstrance is borne by an archbishop between two assistants, holding a gremial embroidered with **fleur-de-lis**, below the gloved hands of the celebrant. Above is a canopy with a fringe alternating: white, blue, red, and green. The archbishop wears a green dalmatic, gold cope, white mitre and white gloves, the assistants gold copes over full surplices. The torch-bearers are clad in blue, those holding the canopy in red. They and the two assistant priests wear padded red wreaths around their heads. In the background a crowd, and the gables and walls of a city. (b) A procession consisting of a boy with holy water, two servers with folded arms, two carrying lights, cross bearer with cross, all in unapparelled albes and amices, followed by seven clergy, two in red copes, two in blue, three in gold copes, all in dark red caps. A grey curtain behind has faint initials joined by a lover's knot, powdered over in gold. The framework above is inscribed: '**DE NOVO TESTAMENTO ET DE NATIVITATE CHRISTI**'. Architectural border with two figures of bishops and green angels.

f. 278. (a) Eli enthroned in a temple where he watches Elkanah and his companions offering a lamb at an altar guarded by Ophni and Phineas; through the window is a view of a town of medieval houses and towers. (b) Samuel being consigned to Eli's care by his mother. Architectural frame with elders and **monkeys** at the base. **Golden joined wings** around.

f. 316v. (a) The slaying of Adoniah by Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada. A king and a queen (Solomon and Bathsheba) enthroned, a combat between three men, and an observer, in the foreground. One of the men in the fight appears to stare upwards towards the **wildman** holding the arms in the framework. (b) The judgement of Solomon. Architectural frame within niches of which on either side are **a wild man and a wild woman supporting the Monypenny arms (x 2)**. Below are **wild men and women holding croziers (x 2)**.

f. 324. (a) Job, his wife, sons, and daughters, in their prosperous days, seated in a vaulted hall. A herd of **camels** and she-asses can be seen through an arched loggia at the back of the richly colonnaded hall. (b) Job cowering on his dung-heap, beaten by two demons with knotted sticks. A ruined building stands behind. Architectural border with soldiers wearing winged helmets and pillars decorated with cornucopia. **A wild man and women** seated, sounding curved **trumpets** below. Border ornamented with foliage and climbing putti.

f. 330. (a) In a city street the aged Tobit in the foreground of the cobbled streets of Nineveh, lifting one of four shrouded corpses that represent the fellow citizens that have been wrongly put to death by the king who sits heartlessly

- banqueting in a house behind. A crowd in the distance. (b) Tobias carrying a large fish over his shoulder, accompanied by a dog, and the archangel Raphael following. Architectural border with two **winged dragons**.
- f. 333v. Small text miniature: Judith cuts off the head of Holofernes.
- f. 336v. Small text miniature: Ahasuerus crowning Esther at a feast. A green curtain behind is powdered with the initials A and E, joined by a lover's knot.
- f. 339. (a) **Alexander overthrowing Darius** and the kings of the earth (1 Mace. i. 1). A battle between the Persian and Macedonian armies, with Alexander on a richly caparisoned Bucephalus in the foreground, stabbing Darius through the heart with a lance. Behind two kings praying. (b) An aged king (Alexander ?) in bed, bestowing crowns on four young men. Architectural border with soldiers and Lions below.
- f. 352. (a) An aged, bearded man (Daniel ?), standing by the side of the river Ulai, outside a moated castle where a He-goat/ unicorn stands watching him from the battlements (**Daniel's 2nd vision**). (b) **The vision of Ezechiel**. Architectural frame with two armed soldiers.
- f. 368. (a) David, dressed as a shepherd playing upon a harp, which Saul strikes with a rod. (b) David slays Goliath. Architectural frame with soldiers and twisted columns.
- f. 394. Small text miniature: David standing in prayer.
- f. 404. Small text miniature: David and an angel.
- f. 411. Small text miniature: David kneeling in prayer by his harp.
- f. 419. Small text miniature: **David has a vision of the instruments of the Passion**.
- f. 430. Small text miniature: David praying in an orchard.
- f. 438v. Small text miniature: **David has a vision of the Annunciation**.
- f. 450. Small text miniature: **David seeing a vision of the Trinity**.
- f. 470. (a) The martyrdom of **St Andrew**. A huge crowd of soldiers carrying spears and watching. (b) St Andrew knocking at the door of a room. The legend of the bishop and the devil disguised as a woman. The bishop wears a rochet, and has a hood over his head, with its cape on his shoulders. On the side pilasters are the arms of the **duchy of Berry**, and below, those of **Monypenny charged upon croziers (x 2)**. Architectural frame with two bearded men reading in niches. Blue angels around.
- f. 479. (a) SS. Joachim and Anne clasping hands as they meet at the Golden Gate shown as a very elaborate arched doorway with marble panels, inscribed lettering and carved figures. The second miniature is substituted by a golden framework with roundels of fabulous birds, grotesques, etc. In the initial 'E' are the **Monypenny arms (x 1)**. Architectural frame with two elders. A greyhound running between two groups of three cupids all sitting on logs at the base of the columns. Expressive blue angels line the border.
- f. 486. (a) Martyrdom of St Thomas, the Apostle, who kneels in prayer facing away from an altar with pagan statue in an elaborate interior where he is stabbed in the back by a bearded man, wearing a pointed hat and turban. (b) St Thomas and the newly married couple. The man is holding a fruited branch and the woman eats from it. Architectural frame with women in contemporary dress and four white greyhounds with red collars on either side.
- f. 513v. (a) St Matthew guarded by a crowd of soldiers and led by two executioners pulling a rope around his neck away from a medieval town. (b) Decollation of St Matthias, watched by a man on horseback and a group of soldiers. Architectural frame with men, women, and lions.
- f. 517. (a) The Annunciation. The Virgin has been reading at a prie-dieu and turns to acknowledge Gabriel. The Blessed Virgin's halo is inscribed: **'MRIA ESTO NE TEMEAS MARIA SEPIRITVS SANCTVS'** (*sic*). In the background the interior of a Gothic church, with an altar having frontal and dorsal enclosed by curtains hung from rods between four massive pillars. The dorsal is in addition to the curtain behind. (b) A white **unicorn** touching a stream with his horn. Animals on the opposite bank drinking and dragons/reptiles issuing from the water. Architectural frame with prophets

and three kneeling angels, playing instruments on each side. Golden angels around.

f. 520v. (a) St Mark dragged down the steps of the temple by a cord round his neck, whilst a group of priests and followers look on. (b) St Mark approaching the cobbler, Anianus, who has injured his hand with an awl as he sits beside a stall displaying his wears. Architectural frame with elders and griffins.

f. 523. (a) St Philip, apostle, led by a crowd of soldiers out of a town towards a hill where his executioners are raising a cross for his martyrdom. (b) St Philip urging on a dragon who is devouring unbelievers. Architectural frame with bearded men and red angels.

f. 525v. (a) St Helena supervising the digging up of the three crosses from Golgotha and the True Cross being distinguished by the miraculous revival of a corpse. Empress Helena wears a *cote-hardie* ermined like Bathsheba (f.18). (b) **Constantine's vision of the True Cross**. The side pilasters have central panels emblazoned with **fleur-de-lis**. Architectural frame with men in Jewish hats and blue angels.

f. 530. (a) Martyrdom of St John the Evangelist. St John is stripped down and shaven on the orders of the emperor. He is about to be thrown into a barrel of boiling oil, watched by the Roman army. (b) A man carrying faggots to a fire upon which is set a large cauldron. Architectural frame with **angels supporting the Monypenny arms (x 2)**, at either side of upper miniature. Red angels around.

f. 544. Small text miniature: St Barnabas dropping **coins** at the Apostles' feet.

f. 555. (a) Nativity of St John the Baptist, who is passed by the Virgin to the midwife whilst St Elisabeth lies in bed praying and Zacharius peeps at his son from behind curtains. (b) SS. John the Baptist and Evangelist, each accompanied by a doctor wearing a gown with fur-lined hood. Architectural frame with two threatening soldiers.

f. 565v. (a) SS. Peter and John with the emperor and his courtiers watching Simon Magus flying in the air surrounded by demons (Golden Legend). (b) Simon Magus on the ground attacked by a dog, watched by the same two saints. Architectural frame with female figures, four lions, and red angels around.

f. 590v. (a) St. James the Greater baptises Josias upon the scaffold. The scene is set in a contemporary town square, with crowds of people watching. People watch from the windows and rooftops. (b) Three devils bring Hermogenes bound to St James, dressed as a pilgrim. Architectural frame with white figures and **four white swans** at the base of each pillar. Red angels around.

f. 601v. (a) The Transfiguration. Moses and Elias (in Carmelite habit) as half-length figures in the sky, as Christ in white appears on mt. Tabor. SS. Peter, James and John stand at the foot of the hill, looking on in awe. (b) Apostles asleep in a rocky landscape. Architectural frame with white figures and blue angels around.

f. 608v. (a) St Lawrence on a gridiron at the order of the order of the Roman prefect who watches as the executioners stoke the flames. (b) St Lawrence, in unapparelled albe and amice and red and gold dalmatic, shows a lame man to Decius. Architectural frame with inquisitive soldiers and small lions (?). Red angels around.

f. 618v. (a) The Blessed Virgin confers the girdle on St Thomas, Apostle. The latter's neckband is inscribed **'VSTHOMAS'**. Scene set in a rolling landscape. The Virgin hovers in the sky supported by mandorla of angels. (b) The death of the Virgin, who lies holding a lighted taper, as a priest reads over her. Architectural frame with elders and blue angels.

f. 636. (a) Martyrdom of St Bartholomew, being flayed alive in a renaissance interior with **bejewelled columns** and a view of a landscape through the window. (b) St Bartholomew, the angel, the king Polemius and the Ethiopian. Architectural frame with side pilasters bearing the **arms of the duchy of Berry**. **Dragons** below. Red angels around.

f. 647v. (a) The Presentation of the Virgin, who ascends the steps of an elaborate carved high Gothic building watched by Joachim and Anna. (b) Birth of the Blessed Virgin. Architectural frame supported by angels, with elders and groups of **four wild men** on either side below, each pair supporting a **shield of Monypenny charged upon a crozier (x 4)**.

f. 654v. (a) The Exaltation of the Cross. Emperor Heraclius on horseback, bearing the True Cross with his army, approaching Constantinople/Jerusalem, where an angel has appeared on the battlements. His reins read **'ERACLIVS INPERATON.'** (b) Heraclius and followers, barefoot, dressed in penitential shifts carries the Cross into Jerusalem. Architectural frame with soldiers and two hounds on either side. Red angels around.

f. 664v. (a) St Matthew making a sign of blessing before Zaroës and Arphaxas (the magicians), and the two **dragons**. A great crowd gathered behind. (b) St Matthew about to raise the king Egippus's son to life. Architectural frame with red angels and **cockleshells**.

f. 700. (a) SS. Simon and Jude emptying their mantles of serpents upon a horrified man in turban. (b) SS. Simon and Jude meet two **tigers**. Architectural frame with man in armour and angels.

f. 702. (a) Coronation of the Blessed Virgin in heaven, where she is seated with Christ on a golden throne surrounded by ranks of angels and the blessed. (b) An angel showing a man in a scene of people praying and in bed. Architectural frame with saints in niches and angels around.

f. 713. (a) St Martin divides his cloak with a beggar. (b) St Martin singing Mass. The miracle of the sleeves. The altar has a red frontal and dorsal, both powdered with gold stars. St Martin wears a gold chasuble over a blue dalmatic. Behind him the deacon and subdeacon wear gold dalmatic and tunic. The albes and amices are unapparelled. Behind again is a large desk with four cantors in golden copes. Architectural frame with soldiers and on the bases of the pillars below are the **Monypenny arms upon a crozier (x 2)**. Blue angels around.

f. 736v. (a) St Barbara led from a **circular tower (Grosse Tour, Bourges ?)** to her execution. A man tugs her dress from her shoulder, another prepares to tie her to a column. (b) Saint Barbara hiding in a cave, several soldiers searching for her march towards it. There are several shepherds, one of which exclaim heavenwards, his flock of sheep behind him. The other rests on the ground, while a third has been turned into stone and his flock turned into locusts after he betrayed the saints trust (Golden legend). In the frame between the miniatures the arms of **Monypenny dimidiated with Stewart (x 1)**. Architectural frame with two lions on each side and blue angels around.

f. 745v. (a) Male and female martyrs being beaten with rods in a vaulted hall, an emperor presiding. (b) Martyrdom of **SS. Saturinus**, Perpetua, Felicity, etc. The saints being led towards a cage with lions and leopards. In the distance an execution by beheading (Golden Legend). Architectural frame with an angel on each side in alb and dalmatic, supporting the **Monypenny arms charged upon a crozier (x 2)**. At the base of each pillar are four cupids astride of logs. Blue angels around. A blank shield in the frame between main and subsidiary miniature.

f. 750. (a) Christ standing between SS. Peter and James the Greater, behind them a company of male saints. A castle in the background. (b) A landscape with apostles parting ways after the Ascension. SS. Peter and John in the foreground. Architectural frame with angels.

f. 766. (a) A crowd of soldiers headed by Saint George, in armour carrying a pennon, St Victor (?), in a tunic embroidered with **fleur-de-lis** and James the Less holding a pilgrims staff. The **tunic of James the Less** bears the letters **'DEMOLISON'** among others. (b) The martyrdom of five saints. Architectural frame with soldiers and four lions on either side below. Angels around.

f. 801. (a) In a rocky mountainous landscape, Death, with a spear, meets a richly dressed pope (**Alexander VI**), an emperor, carrying an orb, and a king, walking in single file. A walled city, mountains, and a gallows in the distance. Above is the inscription: **'TOVS CHIEVS QVI SOT ET SEROT PAR SET PAS MORTEL PASSERONT.'** (b) The day of Judgement; a burning city and a lake from which some figures are saved by angels, whilst others are left to be eaten by reptiles. Architectural frame with mourners and **skulls** below. Surrounded by red angels.

f. 805v. Small text miniature: A man seated at a lectern reading.

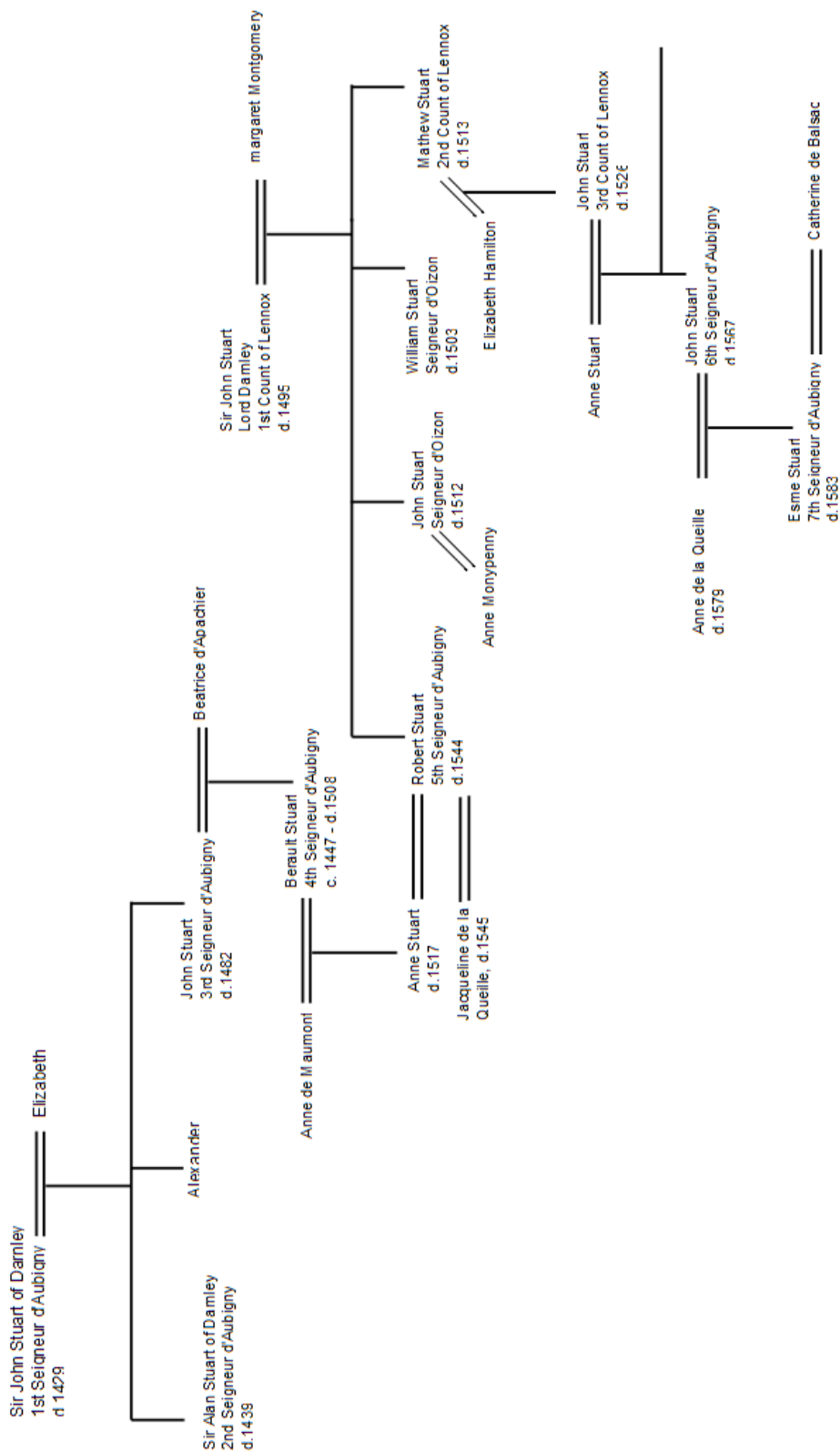
f. 821. 'Et sic est finis.' [*End of Breviary.*]

f. 822. 'Sequens yninus dicitur.' [*Addition.*]

Appendix 1c - *The Artists of the Monypenny Breviary*

The Artists	Master of the Monypenny Breviary	Jacqueline de Montluçon	Anon. third hand/s
Folios (based primarily on main images)	Calendar, 8r, 18r, 24v, 37r, 97r, 183r, 278r, 316v, 324r, 330r, 339r, 352r, 517r (?).	7r, 56v, 130v, 136v, 145r, 156v, 165r, 174r, 193r, 267v, 479r, 525v, 590v, 601r (?), 618v (?), 647v, 654v, 736v, 745v, 766r, 801v.	470r, 523r, 530r (?), 565v, 608v, 636r, 664r, 713r, f.750r.
Defining characteristics	Prominent cheekbones with a strong shadow underneath. Sharply arched eyebrows. Dramatic close-up half-length figures. Accomplished depictions of animals. Lions/leopards quite different from the other artists. Strong contrast.	Younger, rounder, less robust faces with delicate features. Often slightly long noses. Frequently figures with distinctive curly hair. Intricately drawn and accomplished landscapes and townscapes. Some close-up compositions.	Less accomplished figures, especially in background. Slightly squashed appearance given by foreshortening.
Subject matter	Visionary iconography (celestial visions). Franciscan imagery. 'Portrait' of Sir William Monypenny (?). Some of the more peculiar passages, e.g. Alexander & the visions of Daniel. Borders often include wings tied by a cordelier.	Includes the portraits of Pope Alexander VI & the Corpus Christi figures. Also topographical portrait of Mehun-sur-Yvre. Includes military saints with signature on robe and the beautifully executed opening and closing miniatures.	Predominantly scenes from saints hagiography. Iconography derived from the Golden Legend. Often borrows iconography from the <i>Hours of Louis de Laval</i> .
Frame	The majority are stained brown with gold decorative foliage or wings (exclusive to this artist within the M.B.). Columns often rounded & include Corinthian capitals.	The majority are stained brown with coloured angels, highlighted by bursts of golden light between (Some angels have folded arms). Predominantly Gothic decoration on columns.	Often border are brightly coloured, with tightly bunched messy angels. Often complex Gothic architectural frames.
Situation within ms.	Mainly 1 st half	Throughout	2 nd half
Other works	<i>The Vanderbilt Hours</i> , <i>The Grenoble Hours</i> , BnF, ms. fr. 365, BnF, Ars. ms. fr. 3430.	<i>Retable of the Antonites de Chambery</i> ; <i>The polyptyque of the Life of the Virgin</i> (Montluçon); <i>Apparition of Christ</i> (?) (Pont-Saint-Esprit)	May have participated in the second campaign of illumination in the <i>Hours of Louis de Laval</i>

Appendix 2a – The Stuart d'Aubigny Family Tree

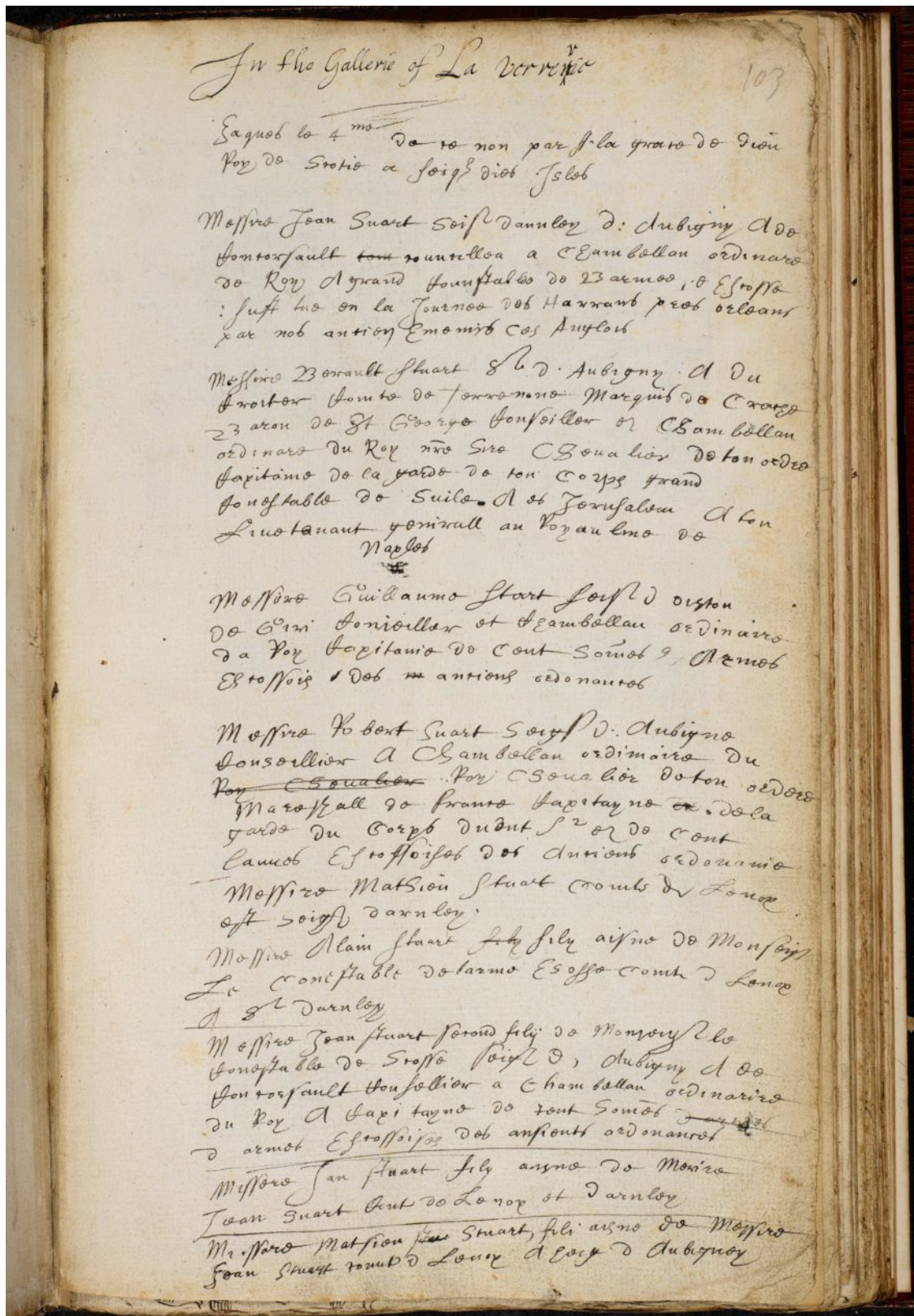


Appendix 2b - Bérault Stuart d'Aubigny's *Traité sur l'art de la guerre*

Ms.	Collection	Illuminations	Complete text	Provenance
Ms 659	Beinecke, Yale	F.2 - Bérault Stuart dictating his treatise to his secretary. F.2b - The French army on the move. (½) F.3 - François Ier presiding over parliament. F.13 - Siege of a walled city. F.19b - Castle fortified against siege. F.22 - An army taking possession of a captured city.	yes	Formerly Bute MS 181, F.21. Comminges argues book in possession of the Stuart & Bute families continuously.
Guenichon Ms.	Dr Jörn Günther	F.1v - Dedication of book to French king. F.15v - Commander directing his forces. F.19v - Nobleman & servant receive letter. F.26r - 2 noblemen survey construction work in town walls. F.29v - French king leads army to castle. F.38v - Several men survey the provisions with town. F.40v - Front view of town with castle walls ready for siege.	yes	Guenichon arms f.2. Believed to have belonged to this family in an unbroken line of descent until its sale in London 2007.
Ms fr. 20,003	BnF	F.2v - Presentation miniature. F.11v - Troops meeting in-front of a castle. F.14 - Two groups of soldiers in walled city, armed boats outside. F.18 - Siege on walled city. F.20 - Soldiers outside entrance to city. (½) F.20v - A hand to hand fight. (½) F.25v - Men with provision horses. (½)	yes	Unidentified coat of arms, and devise 'Plus Qu'on ne Pense' with the initial R. Abbey Saint Germain-des-Près.
Ms Add. 20813	British Library	F.9v - Troops meeting in-front of a castle. F.12 - Two groups of soldiers in walled city, armed boats outside. F.16 - Siege on walled city. F.18 - Men congregate outside walled city (½) F.18v - Small border image F.23v - Two men with provisions and horses outside moated castle. (¾) F.24 - Men approach walled city, soldiers within. (½)	no	Purchased at the Ld Stuart de Rothesay's sale June 1853 (lot 1052).
Ms fr. 2070 (paper)	BnF	None	no	Stated inside owner was 'Jehan Bernard, student at Ostun' (?)

Appendix 2c - Robert de Balsac's *La nef des princes et des batailles*

Ms.	Collection	Illuminations	Complete text	Provenance
Ms. 10 105	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid	Frontispiece Equestrian Portrait (Contamine identifies as Catherine de Foix).	yes	Given to Biblioteca del Cabildo at Toledo by François-Xavier, Cardinal Zelada, Archbishop of Toledo
Ham. 470	Staatsbibliothek Berlin	Frontispiece Equestrian Portrait (Unidentified)		Hamilton Collection
Ms. fr. 1245	BnF	None		
Cotton Vespasian A. xviii	British Library	f.13 - Battle scene, English vs French	yes	
Lyon, 1502, printed by Guillaume Balsarin. (paper).	BnF	Woodcuts F.54 – Author between 2 columns + coat of arms. F.55 – Equipped man-at-arms. F.58v – Fortification under attack. F.59v – Four horsemen engaged in battle.	Includes several short works by Symphorien Champier and two brief treatises by de Balsac. Folios 54-62.	
Paris, 1525, (paper)	BnF	None		



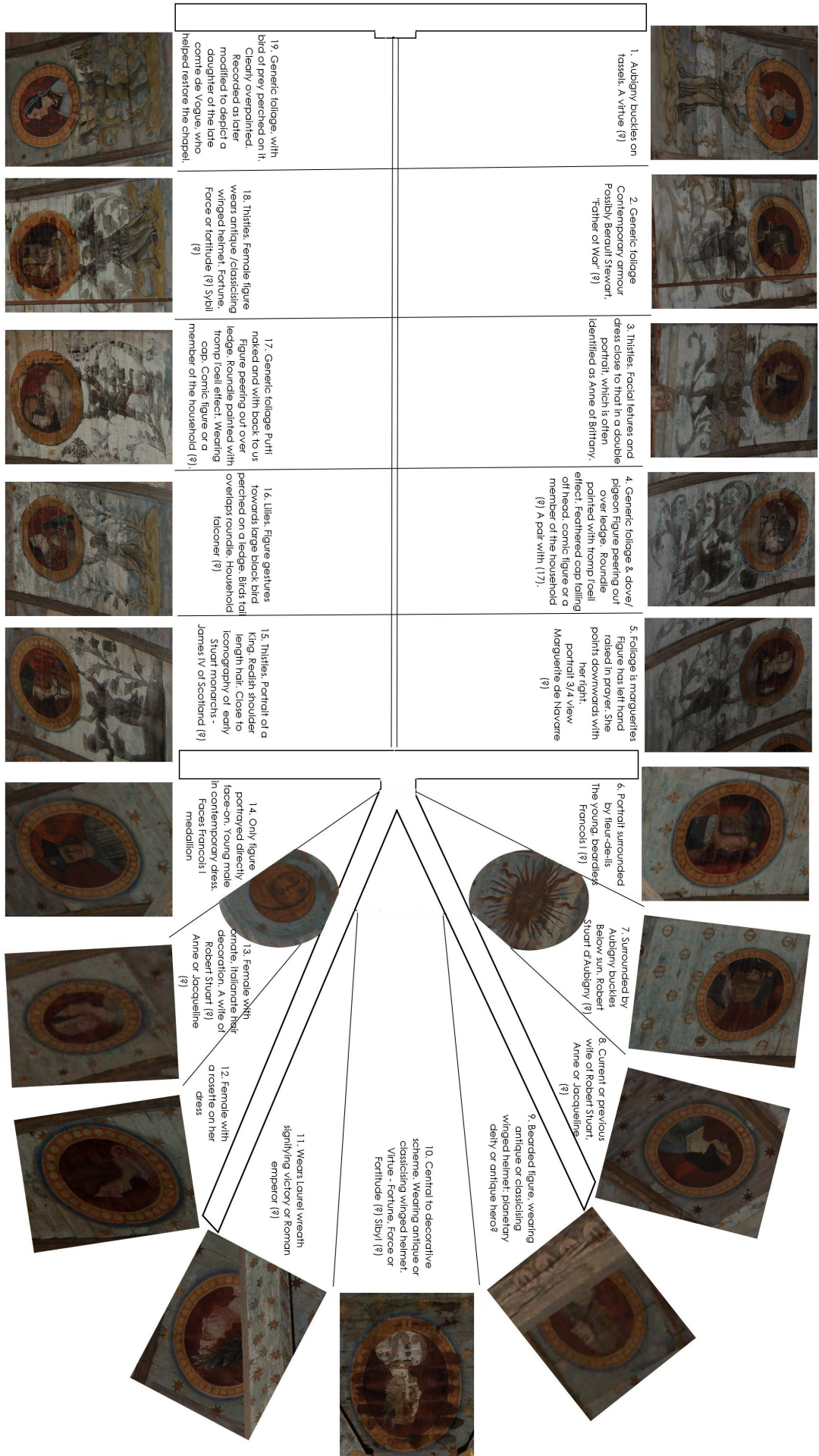
misson Stuart fili . ayno de mess^{re} Mathieu
Stuart gent de Lanox or de d'aruby

Misson Alexander Stuart fiore de mess^{re} la teneffable
le carmed & Estoppo fuyl tuo' a la Joun^{te}
des Marrants auor Codul teneffable

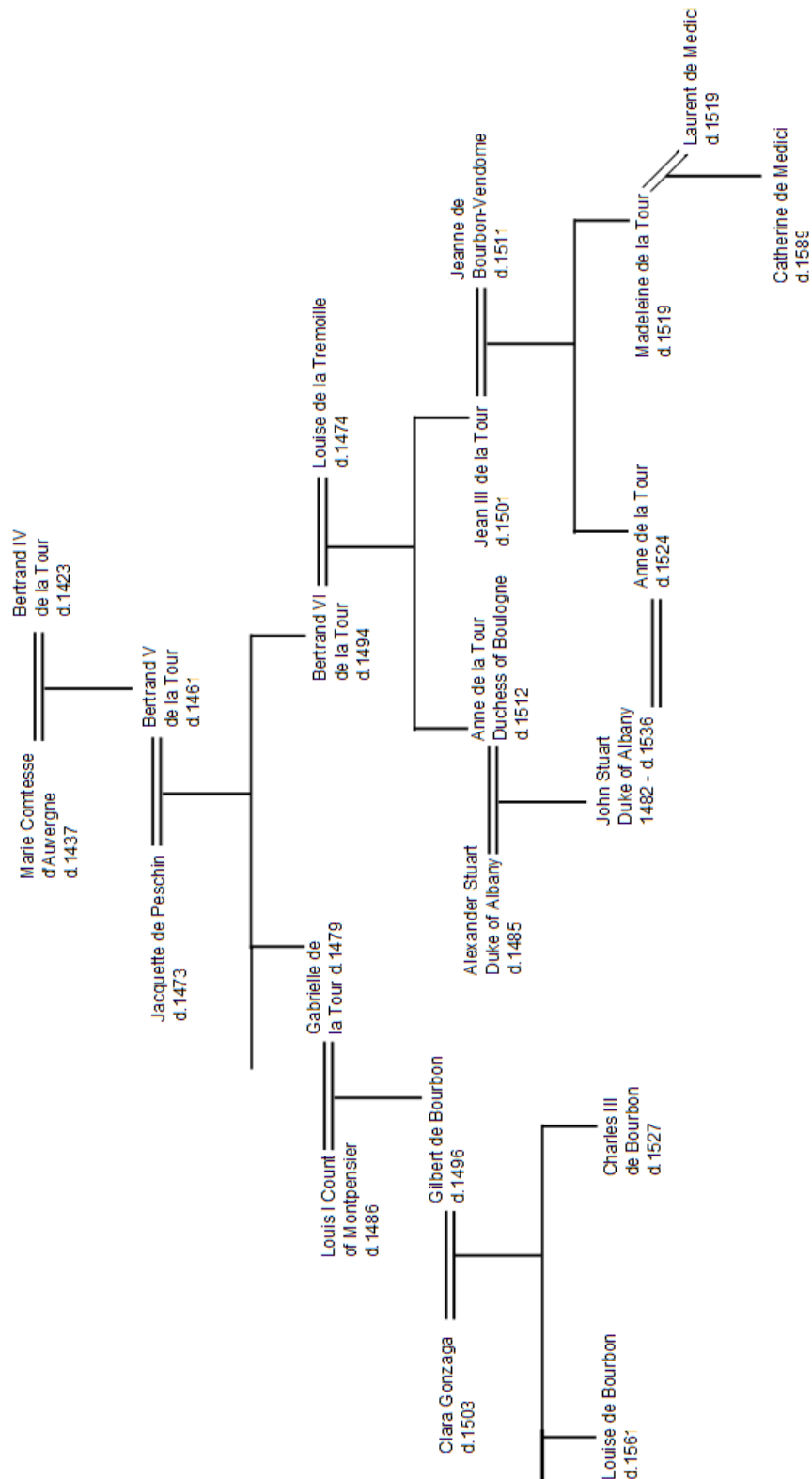
Misson Guillaume Stuart Soig^{er}
A Castiburold frere yormani & mess^{re} la
teneffable & Estoppo le quel fut tuo ala
Joun^{te} de d'aruby

Misson J^h Sillix Stuart fili aigno de son
Misson Jean Stuart Soig^{er} Aubigny

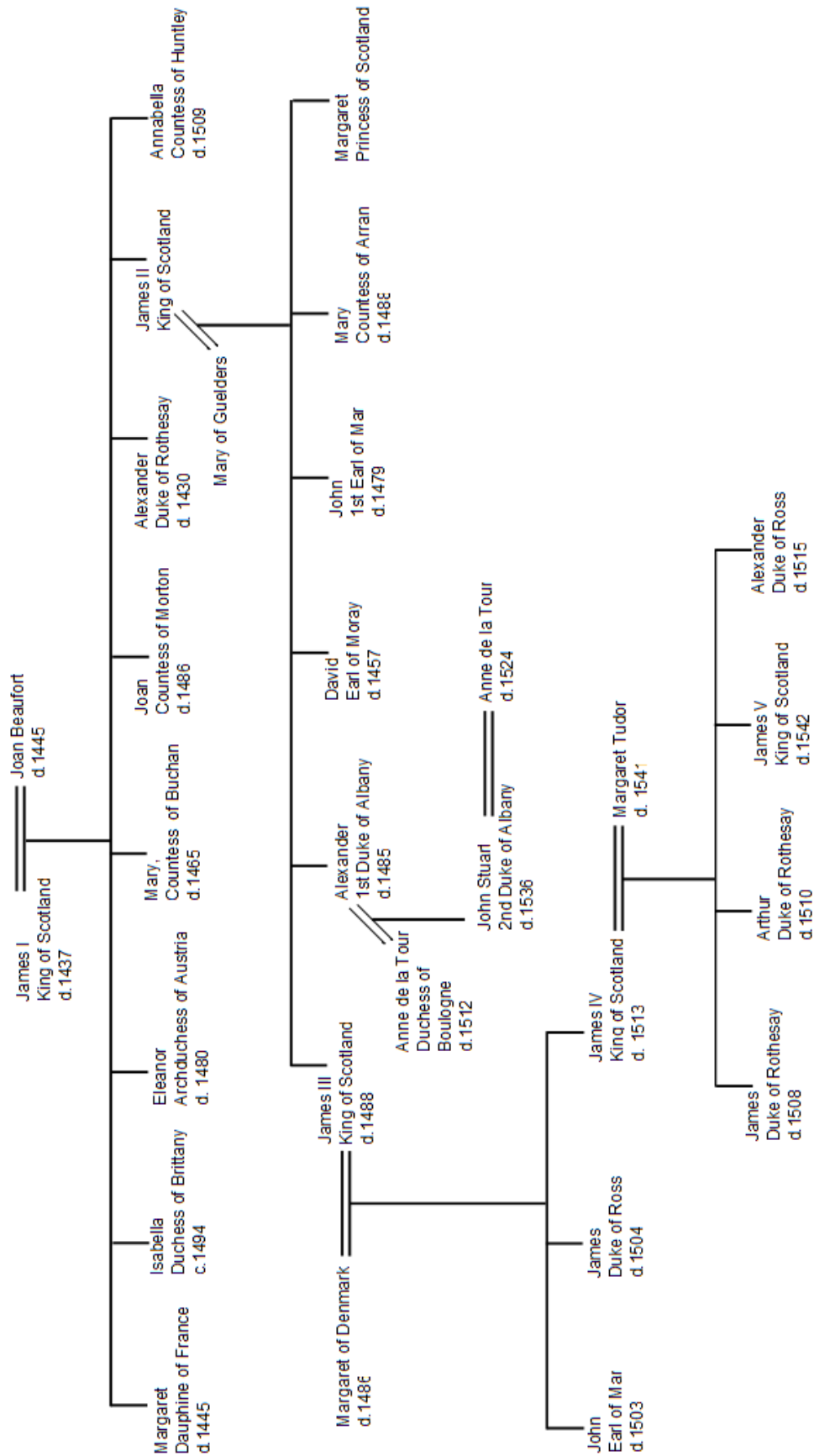
Appendix 2e – The la Verrerie Chapel Portrait Medallions



Appendix 3a – The de la Tour family Tree



Appendix 3b – The Royal House of Scotland and de la Tour Family Tree



Appendix 3c - Extant Manuscripts of the *Liber Pluscardensis*

Ms	Location	Date	Language	Prologue and preface?	Patron and Scribe	Illuminations
Glasgow Ms. Gen 333. (formerly Glasgow College, F.6.14)	Glasgow University Library	1478-96	Latin and ending in C'est tout' suggesting it was transcribed by a Frenchman (?)	No	Written by 2 different hands for William Scheves, Archbishop of St Andrews	None
Ms Advocates Library, 35.5.2	National library of Scotland	Early 16 th C.	Latin	No	Unknown	Some sketchy decorative initials
Cavers Ms	Previously with Mr Douglas Cavers	2 nd Feb. 1696	Latin	No	Transcribed by a W. Gadderar	Unknown
Bodleian Ms Fairfax 8	Bodleian Library, Oxford	1489	Latin & Gaelic	No		Drawing of a harp, f.190r
Marchmont Ms, Ms 308876	Mitchell Library, Glasgow	Late 15 th C.	Latin	Yes		
Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, ms. 4628 (Previously 7396)	Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels	Late 15 th C.	Latin	Yes		Occasional decoration, faces drawn in initials f.68r and 176v, and a face imprinted within the 'E' on f.80r
Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 936	Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris	1519	French	Yes	Translated and transcribed by Bremond Domat for John Stuart, Duke of Albany	Numerous decorative initials and an illustrated genealogical tree of the kings of Scotland

Appendix 3d – *Inventaire des meubles de la Reyne-mère, retenus dans son château de Mirefleur, en Auvergne, 1560*. Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 18610, f.201v (detail)

Appendix 3e – *Inventaire des meubles de la Reyne-mère, retenus dans son château de Mirefleur, en Auvergne, 1560.* Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 18610, f.207r (detail)

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Chartrier de Mercurol, Mirefleurs, 1279-1544. J 1067

Comtés d'Auvergne et Boulogne: testaments des comtes, partages de biens, dots et douaires, donations, fondations de messes, transactions et concessions de privilèges à des localités, 1182-1544. J 1128 – 1145

Notamment: prise de possession au nom du roi en 1535, 1204-1535. J 1086

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Inventaire des meubles de la Reyne-mère, retenus dans son château de Mirefleur, en Auvergne, 1560. Ms. lat. 18610, f.201-221

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